

प्राचीन उत्तराञ्चल काशी

प्राचीन उत्तराञ्चल

“काशी उत्तराञ्चल”

प्राचीन

(१) काशी उत्तराञ्चल उत्तराञ्चल राज्य व जीविते । विद्युत उत्तराञ्चल
जीविते ।

(२) उत्तराञ्चल उत्तराञ्चल । उत्तराञ्चल राज्य व जीविते ।

(३) विद्युत उत्तराञ्चल उत्तराञ्चल राज्य व जीविते, व उत्तराञ्चल उत्तराञ्चल राज्य ।
उत्तराञ्चल उत्तराञ्चल राज्य है ।

(४) विद्युत उत्तराञ्चल राज्य, व उत्तराञ्चल राज्य ।

(५) उत्तराञ्चल उत्तराञ्चल राज्य, व उत्तराञ्चल राज्य ।

(६) उत्तराञ्चल उत्तराञ्चल राज्य उत्तराञ्चल राज्य ।

उत्तराञ्चल उत्तराञ्चल राज्य उत्तराञ्चल राज्य ।



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CATURĀNGA-DĪPIKĀ

फळिकाता-संस्कृत-प्रन्थमाला—२१

सम्पादकः—श्रीदीनेश्चन्द्र-वे. न्यतोर्थ-एम्-ए-

वागृचि-भद्राचार्य-सां न्यतोर्थ-मीमांसातीर्थ-तत्त्वरत्न-शास्त्री

शूलपाणिता
चरूदीपिका

श्रीमनोमो^{१०}न घोष, एम्-ए,
काव्यतीर्थेन संस्कृता

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Ś U L A PĀN I ' S
CATURAṄGA-DĪPIKĀ

A Manual of Four-handed Dice-Chess

*Critically Edited for the First Time with
Translation, Notes and Introduction*

by

MANOMOHAN GHOSH, M. A.,
Kavyatirtha
of the University of Calcutta

**Metropolitan Printing And
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To
SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, Esqr.,
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University of Calcutta,

**With the deepest regard and
the most sincere admiration.**

FOR E W O R D

The present text is entitled the *Caturaṅgadīpikā*. The Sanskrit word 'caturaṅga' literally means 'having four members', 'quardripartite' and then came to mean 'a complete army consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry' [cf. इत्यश्वरथपादातं सेनां च स्वाच्चतुष्टयम्—*Amarakośa*, e. g., चतुरङ्गं शपि वलं सुमहत् प्रसहेमहि—*Rāmāyanam*] ; and finally अक्षकोडाविशेषः, 'four-handed dice-chess', as it is called, to distinguish it from the English word 'chess' meaning 'a game for two players with thirty-two pieces or chess-men on chess-board chequered with sixty-four squares'. Apart from differences, however, there is a philological affinity between the two words. The four-handed dice-chess is rightly called 'Caturaṅga' as it represents a game which is to be played by four persons, two on each side, symbolizing a war carried on between two kings with their two allies, having all the four members of their army : elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. Thus, 'Caturaṅgadīpikā' means a work which introduces Caturaṅga, that is to say, a book which lays down principles of the game of Caturaṅga or the four-handed dice-chess. Hence, the title of the book is very significant.

It may sound strange to many that this game is said to be a religious observance by a great scholar like Smārta Bhattācārya Raghunandana, who quotes couplets from the *Caturaṅgadīpikā*, compiled by his great predecessor Śūlapāṇi. Raghunandana, under the 'Kojāgara-kṛtya' gives a description of Caturaṅga in connection with the injunction [विधि] that those willing to attain fortune should remain sleepless by playing at dice, at the night of full moon in the lunar month of Āśvina, when the Goddess of Fortune is worshipped [cf. आश्विने पौर्णमास्यान्तु चरेज्ञागरणं निशि । कौमुदी सा समाख्याता कांगा लोकविभूतये ॥ कौमुदां पूजयेष्वामीमन्द्रमैरावते शिथतम् । सुगन्धिनिशि सदेशे अक्षैर्ज्ञागरणं चरेत् ॥ निशीये वरदा उक्षीः को जागर्णीति भाषिणी । तस्मै वित्तं प्रयच्छामि अक्षैः क्रीडां करोति यः ॥—*Lingajīmāraṇa* ; नारिकेलोदकं पीत्वा अक्षैर्ज्ञागरणं निशि । तस्मै वित्तं प्रयच्छामि को जागर्णीति महीतले ॥—*Kṛtyakaumudi*]. This game to be played at this night of Āśvina seems to have some

connexion with the mythological story that Nikumbha the son of Kumbhakarṇa came home exactly at such a night with his army after fighting a great battle [cf. आश्वर्यां पौर्णमास्यां निकुम्भो वालुकार्णवात् । जावाति सेनया सार्वं रुद्ध्वा युरं शुदारणम् ॥—*Brahmapurāṇa*]. Vide, in this connection, Raghunandana's *Tithitattva*.

The *Caturāngadīpikā* is a text on Indian Dice-Chess by Mahāmahopādhyāya Śūlapāṇi, who has to his credit, many other works on smṛti literature, such as *Śrāddhaviveka*, *Prāyaścittaviveka* etc. These *Vivekas* are held in great esteem. Smārta Bhāṭṭācārya Raghunandana has cited authorities from them. Śūlapāṇi was undoubtedly a Bengali scholar ; he has very often refuted, with the remark *maithilamatam̄ heyam*, the views of Vācaspati Miśra the younger, (15th century A. C.), the author of *Dvaitanirṇaya* and other smṛti digests, popularly known as *Cintāmanis*, such as *Śrāddhacintāmani*, *Suddhicintāmani* etc.

The present text has been edited and translated for the first time. It is hoped that the understanding of the work will be facilitated by this translation with notes. The editor could not do more than what he did, for want of adequate manuscript materials. Nevertheless, he has done his work well and the learned Introduction which he has added, will, it is hoped, be considered useful. An index of important words has also been appended at the end.

We have the pleasure to express our thanks to the authorities of the Visvabharati, for lending the manuscript to the editor.

We shall be failing in our duty if we do not express our heartiest thanks to Prof. Amāreswar Thakur, M. A., Ph. D., Vedantasastri of the Calcutta University and formerly General Editor of the Series, who accepted this work for publication.

Finally, we may hope that the readers will excuse us for any imperfection they may notice, especially misprints that have crept in.

Calcutta,
November, 1936 } Narendrachandra Bhattacharya

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निवन्द्धः

प्राचीन-भारतवासिनः खलिवहलांकिन्द्रः ख-पराङ्मुखा अध्यात्मतत्त्व-व्यसनिन
 इति भूयांसो जनवादाः प्रतीच्यानां प्राच्यानां च भारततत्त्वानुसन्धितसूनां मण्डलीषु ।
 यद्यप्येते ययोर्गतेन तर्कावश्वमेनावहीयन्ते नात्र स्थूलदर्शिनां पण्डितानां कश्चिद्दोषः ।
 पश्यन्ति ते मन्त्राणां पात्रिभिका वेदाङ्गादिसंकुत्ता विपुलकलेवरा बह्लीः वेदशास्त्राः,
 महाकाशानि रामायण-महाभारत-पुराणोपपुराणानि, असंख्यान् तिशाखीय-ग्रन्थान्,
 भाष्यवाचार्तांकटीकोपः हितानि षष्ठदर्शनानि च, न पुनरेतेषां शतांश-परिमितान्यपि
 लौकिकसुखसाधनानि शास्त्राणि । एतद्दर्शनेनैव विश्रान्तमतयस्ते इटित्येव विमृशन्ति
 केवलं धर्मकर्मैक-बुद्धयो हि प्राचीनभारतवासिनो, न तेषाम् अर्थकामयोः मर्त्यजनोचिता
 स्थूहा वा प्रवृत्तिर्वेति । एतेषां पण्डितानां नानुभवगोचरो भवति यद् ऐहिकस्थितिम्
 अविगमण्यन् कोऽपि जनसमाजः कदाचिदपि सम्यतायाम् अनन्यसाधारणं पदं न लमेत
 इति । सम्भृतार्थस्त्र-समारुद्धेषु प्राचीनभारतवासिषु नायं समयो व्यतिक्रम्यते ।
 अजानन् खलु सम्यतावृद्धि-कौशलम्, तेषां नेताराखिकाल-दर्शिनो महर्षयः । यथा—
 उक्तं च भगवता वा स्यायनेन “शतायुर्वै पुरुषो विभज्य कालम् अन्योन्यानुबद्धं परस्पर-
 स्या-पधातकं त्रिवर्गं सेवेत्” इति । अन्यैरपि महर्षिभिरेतन्मतं गृह्णते आद्रियते च ।
 अत एव प्राचीन-भारतवासिनाम् इहलांकिन्द्रसंकुत्तेषु प्रयत्ना यथैव पारलौकिकेषु
 स्वर्गादिष्वपि सुस्पृष्टं प्रतिपद्यन्ते । तेषाम् ऐहिकसुखानुरागस्य प्रमाणान्तरम्, दृत्यगीत-
 वाद्यादि-चतुःषष्ठि-कलानां भूयान् प्रयोगः । पुरुषस्य गुणप्रकर्षस्यापनावसरे बहुशः
 चतुःषष्ठि-कलानैपुण्यं कविभिरुदाहृतम् । अक्षादि-क्रीडास्तु कलासु गण्यन्ते । काव्यो-
 पाल्यानादिः अक्षकीडायाः प्रसङ्गः प्रायशो दृश्यते । परं न कश्चिद् अक्षकीडा-
 विषयकः सुप्राचीनग्रन्थः समुपलब्धः । यत् क्रीडानां बहुलोक-प्रचारात् तासां परिज्ञाने
 न ग्रन्थादेरपेक्षा तत् सुख्सोध्यम् एव । तथापि क्रीडाविषयकं पुस्तकं नैकान्तं दुर्लभम् ।
 आलोच्यमाना चतुरङ्गदीपिका च अस्य दृष्टान्तभूता । अस्यां च एकक्रीडा
 आलोचिता ।

अथ का नाम चतुरङ्ग-क्रीडा ? दृश्यते हि वाणभट्ट-खद्रट-खुपाङ्गिदां ग्रन्थेषु
 चतुरङ्ग-क्रीडाया उल्लेखः । परं न ज्ञायते कीदृशीयं वीरासीदातं । अमरकोषस्यान्य-
 तम-टीकाकारः लोरस्वामी तु ‘अष्टापदं च एकपालकम्’ इति मन्त्यते । एतस्माद् ज्ञायते

यत् च चक्रकीडा अष्टापद-संश्रया । रामायणे जनबौद्धादीनां शाश्वेषु हरिवंशे विष्णुपुराणे काव्यादिः चेदम् अष्टापदं भूयश उपलब्धते । अत एव प्रतीयते च चक्रकीडा सुप्राचीना एव । प्रन्थान्तरेषु चतुरङ्गः शारी सारी वेति अभिधीयते । विधिवशात् एतादृशी बहुजन-समाज्ञा क्रीडा अर्वाचीनकाले लुपकल्पैव । लोके प्रचाराभावात् अस्य स्वरूप-परिज्ञाने न कश्चित् सुच्छूपायः । एतादृशेऽवस्थावैगुण्ये सञ्चाते चतुरङ्गीपैष्ठ-प्रन्थस्य आविष्टिः प्रकाशनभ्य खलु विबुधजनमोदाय कल्पते । अवगम्यतेऽस्माद् प्रन्थात् कीदृशी नाम चतुरङ्गक्रीडेति ।

यलोके 'शतरञ्जं' नाम क्रीडा च चक्रसमूहता चतुरङ्गसंज्ञया आव्यायते तद् अज्ञानत एव । अत्रैवोभयोः साम्यं यदुभे एव चतुरङ्गिकोष्ठे फलके क्रीडन्ति । परं चतुरङ्गे क्रीडकसंख्या चत्वारः शतरञ्जे तु द्वावेव । चतुरङ्गे राजाश्वत्वारः शतरञ्जे द्वौ राजानौ । चतुरङ्गे राजाम् एकैकस्य बलानि हस्ती, अश्वः, रथम् (नौका वा), पति-चतुर्ष्यं च, शतरञ्जे तु अधिको मन्त्री । यद्यपि उभयोः क्रीडयोः हस्त्यादयो वर्तन्ते न तेषां गतय उभयत्र समाः । क्रीडयोररथमपि अधिको भेदो यत् चतुरङ्गे अक्षद्वयस्य पातनाद् बलानि चार्यन्ते, शतरञ्जे तु नास्ति अक्षव्यवहारः ।

च चक्रकीडा न केवलं प्रभोदकारणम्, परन्तु अर्थकारणम् अप्यासीत् । शूतभूतायाम् अस्यां क्रीडायां पणादानव्यवहारोऽभवत् । विजयी क्रीडकः प्रतिपक्षात् परं गृह्णाति । यद् रुनन्दनश्च तिथितत्त्वे कोजागर-पूर्णिमायाम् अक्षक्रीडया रात्रिजागरणस्य विधानम्, तच्चतुरङ्गक्रीडावलम्बनेनैव । रुनन्दनेन तत्र चतुरङ्गदीपिकातः किञ्चिदधिकाः चतुर्खिशत् श्लोका गृहीताः । एते प्रथितयशसा राधाकान्त-दैवेन सङ्कलिते शब्दकल्पहृष्ममहाप्रन्थेऽपि समुद्रुताः । परं समप्र-प्रन्थाद् वियुक्तान् एतान् न केऽपि सम्यग् बोद्धु शकुवन्ति । चतुरङ्गदीपिकातस्तु क्रीडायाः परिच्यः सुखेनैव लम्बते । अत एव अस्य प्रचारे ज्ञामः कृतः । अत्र च प्रत्यूहपरम्पराः सन्ति । प्रन्थस्य एका एव किञ्चिदधिकसार्थशतर्वर्षप्राचीना हस्तलिखिता पुस्तिका समासादिता । सुपाठ्याक्षरावलिभ्यमन्विताऽपि सा भूयशः पाठाशुद्धि-संकुला । अतोऽस्याः संशोधनम् अथाससाव्यम् आसीत् । शाश्वस्य । एतत्त्वाऽपि संशोधन-छेषं समधिकतरम्भकरोऽतथापि यथाशुद्धि प्रन्थस्य सम्पादने वर्यं बह्यायासं कृतवन्तः । न जानीमः कोऽस्य साहसस्य फलोदय इति । तथापि यदि परगुणैकदृष्ट्यो महानुभवा विद्वांसः विष्यगौरव-दर्शकत्वं अनाद्यत्वादेकम् उपेक्षेन, तदात्पानं कृतकृत्यं मन्यामहे इति शम् ।

P R E F A C E

The game of chess and the didactic fable have been the two most interesting gifts that Hindus gave to world culture. Considering their popularity and wide currency among people of different countries they can well vie with other gifts of India, such as the decimal notation and the so-called Arabic numerals. This gives a peculiar importance to the history of chess and its forerunner *Caturāṅga*, which seems to have been current nearly 2500 years before our time. Though in the beginning there was some uncertainty about the place of origin of chess, scholars are at present agreed about India being its home. Besides this they are also agreed about the fact that the game was invented at a time not later than 600 A. C. To carry the history of chess appreciably earlier than this was, however, not considered possible in the absence of suitable data. Occasional attempts, such as was made by Captain Cox and D. Forbes, were, however, not much appreciated. The discovery of the *Caturāṅgadipikā*, a Skt. text of the 15th century, has, however, given us an opportunity of tracing the origin of chess in an older game called *Caturāṅga*, which seems to be of vast antiquity.

This *Caturāṅga* unlike chess was played by four persons with four sets of games-men, consisting of a king, an elephant, a horse, a boat (=chariot) and four pawns, and movements of these pieces were regulated by the throw of two cubic dice. From available references in literary works (Skt. Pali and Pkt.) it appears that the board on which the game was played was called the *asṭāpada* (a board with 8×8 squares). Following this clue we may trace the existence of this game up to 600 B. C. But it must be admitted that evidences on which we had to depend are not always equally compelling. This, however, is only to be expected from their fragmentary nature. But in spite of this drawback it may be expected that one having a close acquaintance with the growth and evolution of Indian culture through ages will not consider the suggested antiquity of *Caturāṅga* to be impossible.

Though no one will nowadays seriously consider the view of the early school of orientalists who thought that the East was absolutely changeless, it will not be wrong to say that certain elements of Indian culture have lived much longer than others. A very patent example of this will be the Vedic aspects of our marriage rites. The very same *mantras* and ceremonials that were used in uniting a bride and bridegroom of the late Vedic times are present in the orthodox Hindu marriage even after a lapse of nearly over 2500 years. This being the case it may probably be accepted tentatively that the game of Caturaṅga had already existed one thousand years prior to the time when chess developed from this about 500 A. C. Due to what reasons this development occurred, has been discussed in the Introduction to this volume. This new way of looking to the history of chess has been made possible only after the discovery of the *Caturaṅgadipikā*, a Skt. work compiled by Śūlapāṇi (1500 A. C.) of Bengal. This unique work in Ms. is in the possession of the Visvabharati, Santiniketan. We offer our most grateful thanks to the authorities of this Institution for allowing us to utilize the same for the present edition.

In the preparation of this volume I have received help from various writers who have been mentioned in proper places. But among them all, to Mr. H. J. R. Murray, whose magnificent 'History of Chess' (Oxford, 1913) has given me the most valuable help, I should record here my most sincere thanks. To Mr. Sacchidananda Bhattacharya the promoter of the Calcutta Skt. Series also my thanks are due. His very generous expenditure of money for the advancement of Sanskritic studies has made the present work see the light of day. Last but not the least it is my pleasant duty to mention here with thanks the kind co-operation of Mr. Narendra Chandra Bhattacharya the learned General Editor of this Series, in publishing this volume. He has not only read one proof of the entire work but has also given suggestions some of which led to its improvement.

University of Calcutta,
October, 1936

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MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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DIAGRAMS

Notes : K = King, E = Elephant, H = Horse, B = Boat, P = Pawn and M = Mantrin (Queen). Red, Black, Green and Yellow indicate colours of different sets of chessmen.

								<i>Black</i>
B	P			K	E	H	B	
H	P			P	P	P	P	
M	P							
K	P							
P	P	P	P		P	H		<i>Red</i>
B	H	E	K		P	B		
<i>Green</i>								

Diagram 1

The game-board for
Caturaṅga.

								<i>Black</i>
B	H	E	K	M	E	H	B	
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	<i>Red</i>
B	H	E	M	K	E	H	B	
<i>Red</i>								

Diagram 2

The game-board for
Chess

[d]

From the marked position any piece can move to any of the squares where an arrow-head stops. Such a movement is possible from any other position as well, if a square is available.

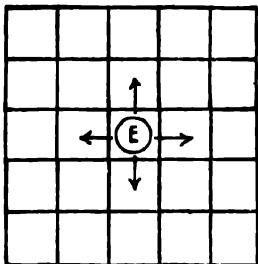


Diagram 3

The movement
of E. in CD.

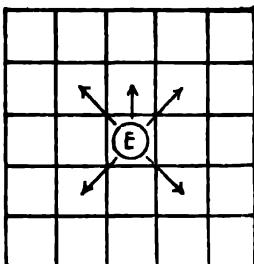


Diagram 4

The movement of E.
in Al-Beruni.

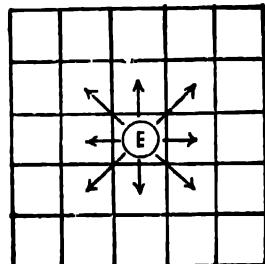


Diagram 5

The movement of E. in
Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṅkāra
and CT.

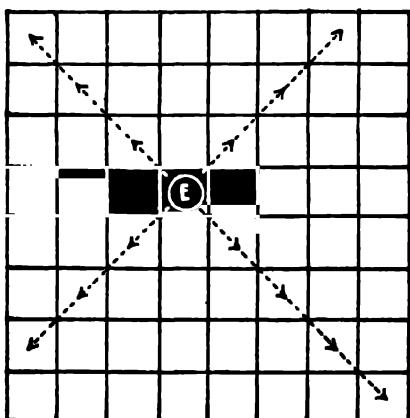


Diagram 6

The movement of E. in Chess.

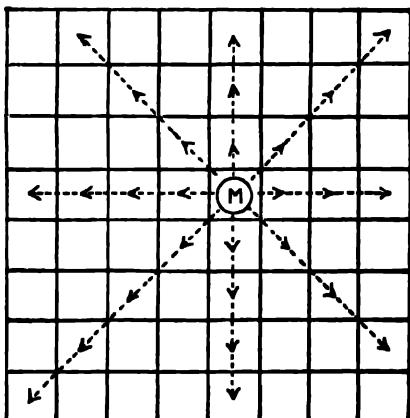


Diagram 7

The movement of *Mantrin*
(Queen) in Chess.

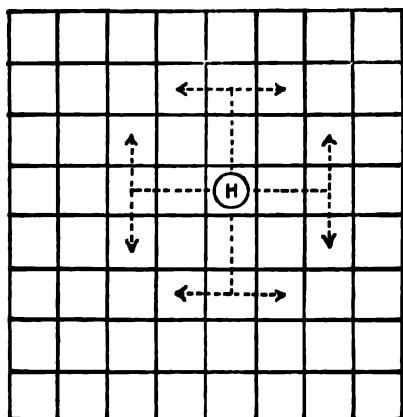


Diagram 8

The movement of Horse in
Caturaṅga and Chess.

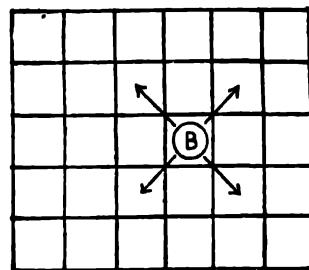


Diagram 9

The movement of
Boat in Caturaṅga.

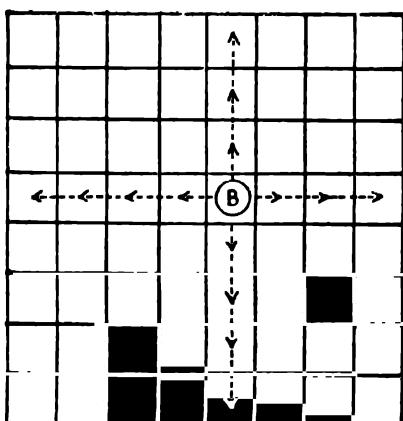


Diagram 10

The movement of Boat in
(Bengali) Chess.

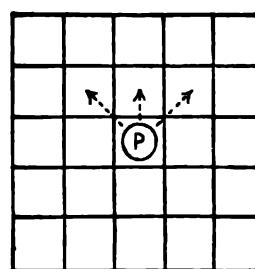


Diagram 11

The movement of Pawn
in Caturaṅga and Chess.

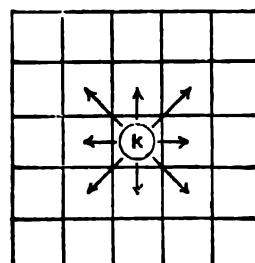


Diagram 12

The movement of King in
Caturaṅga and Chess.

[१]

Yellow				Black			
B	H	E	K	K	E	H	B
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
B	H	E	K	K	E	H	B
Green				Red			

Diagram 13

A stage in the evolution of Caturaṅga.

इ	ती	क्षि	ता	सु	रे	ष	के
या	य	मा	म	म	मा	य	या
म	हि	वं	पा	उ	बो	गौ	री
सा	य	ता	सि	सि	ता	य	सा

Diagram 14

Rathapadapāṭha (chariot-movement) in Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṅkāra (v. 14).
Syllables of the following couplet have given rise to the above :—

इतीक्षिता चुरैष्वके यायमायमायया ।
मङ्गिवं पातु वो गौरी लायतासितायता ॥

CORRECTIONS

P vi last line *read* been for beed.

P xix line 6 *read* religious ordinances

line 12 „ „ „

P २ line 2 (from the bottom) *read* ५. ms. चटकोडान्जु.

P ६ line 9 *read* दृप रथवम्.

P ६ line 10 *read* [३a प्राप्तीति च] for ४a प्राप्तीति च.

P १२ line 5 *read* प्रोलिते for उठिते.

P १४ line 7 (from the bottom), *read* प्रवेश्यो[च]हनं [च]त्सीति.

P १५ lines 8-9 *omit* the couplet No. १०, and *change* after this, Nos. १८, १९, २० and २१ to १९, २०, १८ and १९ respectively.

P २६ line 11 *read* इति वोहवम्।

P २४ line 4 (from the bottom) *read* इति महामहोपाधाव०.

P ६ line 18 *read* And for But.

line 8 (from the bottom) *read* १२ before The value.

P १२ line 3 *read* capture, then capture for capture, in a square capture.

line 4 (from the bottom) *read* capture for kill.

P १९ line १ (at the bottom) *read* released for captured.

line ३ (from the bottom) *read* obstructed for captured.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. C. = After Christ.

B. C. = Before Christ.

C. = *Caturaṅga* or the Four-handed Dice Chess.

CD. = The *Caturaṅga-dīpikā*.

CT. = The *Caturaṅga-taraṅgiṇī*.

Hv. = *Harivamśa*.

Mbh. = *Mahābhārata*.

Murray = History of Chess by H. J. R. Murray.

Ś. = The article on *Caturaṅga* in the *Śabda-kalpa-druma*.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I

The Present Edition

1. A complete or partial disappearance of a work for ever or for some time is no rare phenomenon in the history of Sanskrit literature. Hence, it is no wonder that a number of books, which was once written on the game of *Caturanga* or the four-handed dice-chess is till now scarcely known to students of India's past. But it would be inaccurate to assume that no writing on the subject was within their knowledge; for as early as 1790 Sir William Jones in his article 'On the Indian Game of Chess' (Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. London, 1790., pp. 159-165) quoted in translation a passage consisting of nearly thirty-five couplets from a Sanskrit work named the *Tithitattva*¹ by Raghunanda. The original of the passage quoted by Sir William was printed later on in the *editio princeps* of the *Tithitattva* published in Serampore (1834). And this passage was also included in the well known Sanskrit encyclopaedia named the *Sabdakalpadruma* (1821) under the word 'Caturanga.' A. Weber made a German translation of this in his article 'Einige Daten über das Schachspiel nach indischen Quellen' in 1872.

2. These editions and translations of the *Caturanga* (C.) passage did a very useful service in directing the attention of the investigators of the history of chess to the early Indian literary works for scrutinizing all available references in them of games which appeared to be similar to or cognate with C. As a result of this, the theory was advanced that the different kinds of game of two-handed chess played all over the modern world owed their origin to the ancient Indian four-handed dice-chess (Capt. Cox, 'On

1. Muriay wrongly considers the *Tithyāditattva* or *Tithitattva* to be "written in the Bengali dialect of Sanskrit" (see pp. 48-49).

the Burmha Game of Chess, compared with the Indian, Chinese and Persian Game of the same denomination', *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii, 1803, pp. 486-511; D. Forbes, 'Some Observations on the Origin of Chess', London, 1860). But H. J. R. Murray the latest English historian of chess rejects this theory (p. 69). Though his arguments against accepting what he calls the Cox-Forbes theory are not very sound, it must be admitted that the theory, even if it was a very plausible one, was based on rather inadequate materials. About the date and source of the passage on which such an important theory was based, scholars had then no clear and precise knowledge. And the passage fragmentary in its nature was considerably insufficient to give any workable idea of the game of *Caturāṅga*. The discovery of the *Caturāṅga dipikā*, it is hoped, will remove such a difficulty. A more or less correct idea about the origin of the modern game of chess may now be possible.

3. This unique work came to light in 1924 from a village near Santiniketan, Bengal and was procured for the library of the Visvabharati. An examination of this clearly written ms. (in Bengali script and no. 970) which was prepared in Śaka 1701 revealed that the *Caturāṅga* passage mentioned above occurred towards its beginning. Hence the view which Weber for want of proper materials was obliged to take about the passage, *viz.*, it was an integral part of Raghunandana's own work, proved to be wrong¹. For in the colophon of the *Caturāṅga-dipikā* (CD.) it has been ascribed to Śūlapāṇi, a Bengali writer on Smṛti of the 15th century. Thus, Raghunandana could very easily be relieved of the supposed authorship of the *Caturāṅga* passage discussed by Sir William Jones and others.

4. At the time of discovery of the *Caturāṅga* ms., the present writer was in the Visvabharati, and coming to know of its importance he thought of studying this valuable work and of preparing, if materials proved to be sufficient, a critical edition of the same.

1. See the *Smṛtitattva*, pt. i, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāśāgara, Calcutta, 1895, pp. 137-138.

But various circumstances checked the progress of this work. Though undertaken as early as 1925 it did not advance much till 1933.

At first it appeared that the CD. was the only extant work on the four-handed dice-chess. But on further investigation it was found that in the MSS. library of the Nepal Government there was a work named the *Caturāṅgatāraṅgini* which dealt with the same subject. But it was, however, not before 1932 that an attempt to obtain a copy of the same was successful. (I take this opportunity of offering cordial thanks to my Dutch friend Dr. Arnold A. Bake Ph. D., who kindly procured this copy during his stay in Nepal). This copy added to the already existing mistakes of this work preserved in a very poor ms. in Maithili script (see p 1). But even this imperfect ms. was of considerable help in explaining some difficult passages of the CD., and in clarifying certain aspects of the game of C. But this help had to be taken very cautiously, for it was discovered from the CD., that at the time of its composition there were at least *two* different schools of the game: of Mithilā and of Bengal. Now the *Caturāṅgatāraṅgini* (CT) being written in Maithili script was presumed to be belonging to the Mithilā school and on an examination of the work it was found that the game, described in it, though fundamentally similar to that in CD., varied in minor points. Hence, the editor had to proceed with the comparison of the two works very cautiously. The inherent difficulty of this text dealing with a game, which has long been obsolete, has further been a factor causing delay in its study.

Even after a rather unusual delay the task may be said to have been brought to completion. But in spite of the editor's best efforts, it cannot be said that the meaning of the text has been made clear in all points. Deplorable though this insufficiency of knowledge is, it may be hoped that the information that could be gleaned from the text will give us a good general view of the game of *Caturāṅga*, which can be utilized for tracing the history of the origin and development of the game.

II

The Game of Caturanga

5. It has been said above that from the text only a very general idea of the game can be had. Hence, the description of the game attempted below will set forth only its essential features.

i. The Caturāṅga is to be played in a square game-board divided into sixty-four squares (see the Diagram 1). The game which is to be played by four persons, two on each side, symbolizes a war carried on between two kings (*rājāgṛha* and his *ari*) with their two allies (*mitra* and *ari-mitra*) who constitute a sort of very primitive type of *mandala* (sphere of diplomacy).

ii. Each of the four persons who are to play this game will have at their disposal the following pieces : a king, an elephant, a horse, a boat and four pawns (*patti*). The four groups of chessmen (*balas*) will be of the following colours : red, green, yellow and black. The owner of the red pieces will occupy the eastern side of the game-board, and other groups are to occupy respectively southern, western and northern sides(8-9)¹.

iii. The pieces at the disposal of each player will be placed at the beginning of the game in the following manner : boat at the corner, next the horse and after it the elephant with the king by its side. The four pawns are to be placed in squares in front of these pieces (see the Diagram 1).

iv. At the game, players are to cast, one after another, two cubic dice, each of which is marked on its sides with numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. According to CD., it seems that numbers 1 and 6 carried no value or were treated as zero (see Notes on 11 and 12). The value of the throw is to regulate the movement of the pieces. The rule on this point is as follows :

The king and the pawn moves by a throw of *five*, the elephant by that of *four* and the horse and the boat move respectively by *three* and *two*.

1. These figures and similar ones below refer to sections of the CD.

v. The pieces have the following manner of moving:

a. The elephant can move at will to the next square in four cardinal directions (see the Diagram 3).

b. The horse can move sideways to the next square after crossing the three squares (see the Diagram 8).

c. The boat can move aslant to the second square from its own place (see the Diagram 9).

d. The pawn can move to the square in its front but to capture a piece it can only move to a square to the right or the left of its front square (see the Diagram 11).

e. The king can move to the next square in all directions (see the Diagram 12).

vi. As two dice are to be cast every time, the throw available will show two numbers, which are to be utilized in the following manner :

a. When there is room for utilizing two throws i. e., pieces available for move have positions to move to, then the two are to be moved (25-26).

b. When only one position is available, then the throw of higher number (25-26) is to be utilized.

c. When in a throw the same number is repeated, then the piece available for move may have two moves (see Al-Beruni, p. 184).

d. Attacks are of two kinds : one leading to capture of the enemy (lit., killing) and the other obstructing his movement (*bindhana=banthana*).

vii. Different kinds of victories and defeats are as follows :

a. Simhāsana. When one's king is able to occupy the position of another king, his ally or enemy or enemy's ally, the Simhāsana takes place (42-44).

b. C a t ū rājī. When one's king has been able to capture the three other kings (two enemies and one ally), the Catūrājī occurs (46-50).

c. N r pākṛṣṭā. It is the name for forcible release of one's king obstructed by the enemy when one has already captured three other kings (52-54).

d. Br̥hānnaukā. When one's own boat has captured the three other boats then the position is called the Br̥hānnaukā (69).

e. N a u kākṛṣṭā. It is the forcible release of one's own boat obstructed by an enemy when one has already captured three other boats (71).

f. Saṭpada (pawn-promotion). When a pawn succeeds in reaching any of the squares at the end of the board except that occupied by a king or that at the corner then the pawn is transformed to the piece the position of which it has reached (59).

g. Kākākāṣṭha. When one player has lost all pieces then his position is called the Kākākāṣṭha (67).

viii. For every piece captured one is to pay an amount of stake to the adversary. The rate of this stake seems to have been settled according to custom.

III

The Caturanga in Indian Literature

6. Terms and expressions connected with the C. (four-handed dice-chess) seem to occur occasionally in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali works from 17th century A. C. to 6th century B. C. But these very scanty references are not in all cases very safe grounds for assuming that in particular works the game of C. was meant. Hence, before taking the entire history of the game in consideration we shall discuss below severally those terms and expressions or passages containing them occurring in different literary works of the past.

7. In the commentary to the *Āryāśaptaśati*, written by *Ananta Paṇḍita* (1700 A. C.) occurs the following :

.....‘पातिताक्षेण’ कृतकटाक्षेण । पक्षेऽक्षः पाशः ।.....[‘शारीव’] चतुरङ्गुटिकेव ‘मृत्वा मृत्वापि जीवति’ ।.....पक्षे मरणं श्रीडाक्षमत्वम् । जीवनं तत्क्षमत्वम् (on the *āryā* 624).

From this passage it can be assumed that Ananta knew a game called C. in which dice (*akṣa*) was used. The ‘death’ (*marana*) referred to here meant possibly the capture of a piece and the coming back to life (*jīvana*), the pawn-promotion (see §5 vii f).

8. Probably between 1500 A. C. and 1100 A. C. there came into existence the four different recensions of the Thirty-two Stories of the Vikrama Cycle known variously as the *Vikramacarita* or *Vikram* (*ārka*) *āditya-carita* or *Simhā-sana-dvātriṁśikā* or *Simhā-sana-kathā* (Franklin Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures*, pt. i, HOS. 26, p. xlix). In its story no. 27 is available some reference to C.

i. In the *Southern Recension* of this work occurs the following :—

राजा भणितम्—को भवान् ? तेनोक्तम्—अहं चूतकारः । राशोक्तम्—त्वं चूतकीडां जानासि किम् ? तेनोक्तम्—चूतविषयेऽहमेव विचक्षणः । अन्यच सारीकीडां जानामि ।

[सारी in this passage has variants like सारी Q, सालि M, सारि T and द्वार Nd. Besides, this N, according to Edgerton, gives 'different and longer readings' (It is a pity that he withholds them). After जानामि VJ insert बुद्धिवलं जानामि and QTMy वराट्युहि (T adds च) जानामि. Variants given here and below have been taken from the excellent critical edition of the work by Edgerton (HOS. vol. 27)].

Dyūta-kriḍā in the above passage has been translated by Prof. Edgerton as 'the game of dice' and *sārīkriḍā* as 'a game related to chess' (*op. cit.* p. 213). The second term, as it appears from the testimony of Ananta cited above (§7), has been accurately translated while *dyūtakriḍā* does not seem to mean 'the game of dice' only. It means probably the 'gambling (*dyūta*) based on a play (*kriḍā*)'. The stranger in this passage introduces himself as a gambler (*dyūtakāra*) but the king then enquires whether he knows 'gambling connected with play'. Upon this the stranger says that he is a master gambler *i. e.*, knows all kinds of gambling and especially he knows the *sārīkriḍā* which seems to be nothing other than our C.

ii. In the *Metrical Recension* of the *Vikramārka-carita* the above mentioned passage occurs in the following form :

अहं दूरोदरे चात्र दीव्याम्यक्षैरहर्निशम् ।
गतागतं च जानामि ग्लहादानादिपण्डितः ॥
हस्त्यश्वमनिशकटव्यूहद्वेदवर्मणः ।
जाने बुद्धिवलं चापि चतुरङ्गस्य देवने ॥
निषुणोऽहं धनादाने बलिनोऽपि पराजिताः ।

(31—35)

[दुरोदरा यज्ञ Edg. (= Edgerton), दरोदरे चात्र Dn. प्रशान्तं DvGr. ग्लहादानादिपण्डितः Dn. *ग्लहानां दिव्यपण्डितः Edg. पादात for शक्त DvGr.].

The variant *pādāta* recorded for *śakaṭa* as well as the construction of the entire sentence seems to give ground for presumption that the expression *hastyāśra-mānatrī-śakaṭa-vyūha* stood in the *codex archetypus* of the Metrical recension as *hastyāśvara-tāthā-pādāta-vyūha*. The term *Buddhibala* (meaning the

modern chess in Marathi) occurring in this sentence has probably confused the writer of the prototype of the mss. DvGr., who changed *ratha* to *mantri* just to bring the description in harmony with the name *Buddhibala*. But this emendation did not quite solve the difficulty, for *ratha* or *śakata* still remained unmentioned. Hence, later interpolators put in *śakata* in the place of *pādāta*. But this too unwittingly created a new difficulty, for *pādāta* (pawn) occupying a place in the game was wanting.

With the reading proposed above, the passage will be translated as follows :

In gambling I shall always (*lit.*, day and night) play with dice. I know (to manipulate) the movements (of pieces) and am skilled in winning (*ālāna*) of stakes. I know the (special game of) *Buddhibala* included in the game of *Caturāṅga* class, which possesses unassailable armours such as elephants, horses, chariots and pawns. I am skilled in winning money and even the powerful are vanquished by me (cf. Edgerton's translation *op. cit.* p. 215).

Prof. Edgerton's interpretation of *gatāgatam* (*op. cit.* p. 215) as 'a game of backward and forward' seems to be unnecessary. It may well mean the movement in general of the pieces used in C., or the *Buddhibala*. (*ilaha*, translated in this context as 'dice', does also not seem to be correct. The expression *glaḥālānāḍi-pandita* should be translated as 'skilled in winning or earning money as stakes and in similar matters'. The term *dhanālāna* 'winning of wealth' may not be considered a kind of game, for it seems merely to repeat the idea contained in *glaḥālānāḍi*. Hence, the whole passage may be taken to relate to the ancient game of C., as well as the *Buddhibala* or the modern game of chess.

iii. In the *Brief Recension* of the work the passages discussed above occur in the following form :

राजोक्तम्—कस्त्वम् ? तेनोक्तम्—चूतकारोऽहम्, राजन् सारिफलं सोतकण्ठं च
चतुरङ्गं च कपर्दं चोच्चलितमुष्टिकं च गतागतं च दशचतुष्कं च चीरणीयं धूलिकां च
खेलितुं जानामि । (9—12)

This passage, if it is not corrupt, seems to be very difficult. Prof. Edgerton's translation does not seem to be satisfactory. For games like *sotkan̄ha*, *uccalitamusti*, *gatāgata*, *ciran̄iya* etc., are scarcely met with anywhere. *Sotkan̄ha*, if it is not a corruption of the real name of a game now extinct, may be taken as an adjective to *sāriphala* or *caturaṅga*, and *uccalitamusti* and *gatāgata* also may be taken as adjectives to *kapardaka*; similarly *ciran̄iya* too may be an adjective to *daśacatuska*. But whatever might be the correct reading of the passage or its interpretation we meet with terms like *dyūta*, *sāriphala* and *caturaṅga* occurring in it and they seem to be connected with our C.

iv. The Jainistic Recension of the passages discussed above does not, however, mention *sāriphala*, *caturaṅga* or *akṣa* and merely refers to *dyūta* or (*dyūta*-) *kridā*, which may or may not relate to C.

9. A m a r a c a n d r a 's Bālābhārata (1300 A. C.) mentions *astāpada* (ii. 5. 13). According to him two dice (black and red) are used in this game (Lüders, 'Das Würfelspiel in alten Indien', p. 67). The game in connexion with this term might be C.

10. The poet G o v a r d h a nācārya (1200 A. C.) in his Āryāsaptaśati writes :

सा विरहदृश्यन्दूना मृत्वा मृत्वापि जीवति वराकी ।
शारीव कितव भवतानुकूलिता पातिताक्षेण ॥ 623 ॥

The word *sāri* occurring in this passage as we have noticed above (§7) has been explained by Ananta Pandita as *caturaṅgaguṇikā*. Now *akṣa* cited in connexion with *caturaṅga* points probably to the game of C. Mr. Murray, however, thinks otherwise (see p. 62).

11. In the Rājatarangiṇī of Kalhana (c. 1200 A. C.) occurs a clear reference to C. The relevant passage is as follows :

नीत्यसम्भूते व्यग्रः शोषस्वैकस्य विग्रहे ।
चतुरङ्गं इव क्रीडन् विवशोऽभूद् विद्यापतिः ॥

‘बद्धलक्ष्यः प्रदानार्थं ततश्च उच्चना परान् ।
भङ्गतो वाजिपत्त्यादि नायासीकाप्यजीगणत् ॥

(viii. 2969-2970).

In his note to the translation of this passage Sir Aurel Stein writes : The similes.....are taken from Indian chess (*Caturaṅga*) played by four persons at a time.

12. In the comments to the *Pīṅgala cchandah-sūtra* named *Mṛtasañjivani* by *Halāyudha* (c. 1200 A. C.)² the word *Caturaṅga* and a game-board with 64 squares have been mentioned (on I. 3). This was considered to be a reference to chess (JRAS. 1896, p. 122).

13. *Kṣiravāmin* (1100 A. C.) explains *sāriphala* (*sāriphala*) as शारयः फलन्त्यत्र शारिफलं खेलनाधारः च रक्षफलकाद्. (The commentary named the *Amarakośodghāṭana*, ed. K. G. Oka, p. 165).

14. In the *Abhilāśitārtha cintāmaṇi* or *Mānasollāsa* written under the patronage of the Cālukya king *Śomesvara* (1100 A. C.) is mentioned a game called *Caturaṅgākṣa*. This may be the same as our C. (see The *Abhilāśitārtha-cintāmaṇi*, I. 1. 31, also Murray, p. 36).

15. In the Sinhalese commentary (c. 1000 A. C.) to the *Vinayapitaka astāpada*³ has been explained as a

1. This couplet is evidently corrupt. Stein along with other editors of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* has overlooked this fact. His translation of the passage fails to make it completely intelligible.

2. Weber places *Halāyudha* in the 10th century (Indische Studien, viii, p. 193), but he was the minister of the king *Lakṣmaṇa Sena* (1200 A.C.) of Bengal (JASB. [1915] xi, N. S. p. 333).

3. According to Prof. Lüders *astāpada* (8×8 squares) meant a game in which the use of dice was combined with a game upon a board (*op. cit.* p. 65). Macdonell considers it to be "highly improbable that *astāpada* was used for anything but some primitive form of chess, played with or without the aid of dice sometime before the beginning of our era" (JRAS. 1898, p. 122). Mr. Murray, however, seems to think differently (see pp. 34-35).

game played with dice and pieces such as kings and so on (Murray, p. 35).

16. In the *Rśabha pāñcāśikā* of Dhāraṇīpāla (1000 A. C.) occurs the following :

सारि विव बन्धवधमरणभाइणो जिण ण हुन्ति पर्हे दिट्ठे ।
अखेहि वि हीरन्ता जीवा संसारफलयमि ॥

According to the commentator, the game alluded to in the above passage has been the game C. (H. Lüders, *op. cit.* p. 66). The words *bandha*, *vadha* and *marana* probably justify the commentator. For the obstruction and capture of a piece in C., is called *bindhana* (= *bandhana*) and *hanana*, respectively.

17. In the *Haravijaya*, a poem by *Rājānaka Ratnākara* (c. 900 A. C.), we have the following couplet :

श्रियं दधानं चतुरस्ताश्रयामनेकपत्त्यश्वरथद्विपाकुलम् ।
विपक्षमाविष्करतसन्विग्रहं तथाप्यनष्टापदमेव यो व्यधात् ॥

XII. 9.

On *astāpada* Ratnākara's commentator Alaka writes : सामर्थ्याच्चतुरङ्गफलकम् । तदद्यापदं नेति विरोधः, तस्य हि पद्मकौ पद्मकौ पद्मकोपेतत्वादद्यापदमिति संका (ed. Nirnayasāgara).

Hence, from *astāpada*, in this passage, meaning a game-board for C. and the mention of *patti* (pawn), *ásra* (horse), *ratha* (chariot) and *dvipa* (elephant) and the omission of *mantri* (minister), we may well assume that Ratnākara meant C., and not the modern chess¹.

18. **R u d r a t a** (900 A. C.) in his **Kāvya lāṅkāra** describes some acrostics (*citra-kāvyas*) which are a sort of metrical puzzles. They are to be read in accordance with the moves of particular pieces (*Caturāṅga-piṭha-viracita-ratha-turagaḍi-pada-pāṭhaih* v. 2). The moves of horse and elephant, as recorded by Rudrata (v. 15-16), tally with that laid down in manuals of

1. Prof. Jacobi discussed this passage for the first time (ZDMG. vol. 50. pp. 225 f.) and wrongly thought that *asṭāpada* in the passage meant modern chess and in this matter he was followed by Macdonell (JRAS. 1898, p. 124).

C., known to us (see Notes on 14)¹. The movement of the chariot, that Rudraṭa gives, is not available from any such text on C. But it has some affinity to the movement of boat in our modern (Bengali) game of chess (for details see the Diagram 14).

19. In the *Kuṭṭanimaṭṭa* (v. 997) of Dāmodara Gupta (800 A. C.) occurs the term *pañcākṣadyūṭa* (ed. Tripathi, Lahore, 1929). There is no means of knowing what kind of game was meant. It may or may not have any connexion with the C.

20. In the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva (ed. Peterson, Bombay, 1886) there appear nine couplets ascribed to Śri-Māyūra. Peterson believes him to be identical with the famous author of the *Sūryaśatākā* (c. 700 A. C.). Now, seven among these couplets (123-129) refer, according to Peterson, to chess with dice. One can never be sure of this fact. The data available from these couplets consist of terms like *tryakṣa*, *durodara* and *pāśaku*.

21. In his *Harṣacarita* the poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa (650 A. C.) uses terms like *astāpada* and *caturaṅga*, and the latter term is used in connexion with *astāpada*, which as we have seen above (§15), means the game of C. (*astāpadañām caturaṅga-kalpanā*, ed. Kane, Pt. I. p. 35)². In his *Kādambari*, too, he uses the term *śāryakṣa* (*śāryakṣesu śūnyayagrāhāḥ*). This may be a reference of C.

22. *Bhartṛhari* (c. 650 A. C.) refers to a game which may or may not have any affinity with our C., in the following stanza :

यत्रानेकः कचिदपि यहे तत्र तिष्ठत्ययेको
भन्नाम्यन्तर्जल्लु बहवसाल नैकोऽपि चान्ते (चास्ते !) ।

1. Rudraṭa's reference has also been discussed by Prof. Jacobi and here too he seems to be wrong in seeing modern chess (see *op. cit.*).

2. Macdonell seems to be wrong in taking Bāṇa's reference as relating to modern chess (JRAS. 1898, p. 125).

इत्यं चेमौ रजनिदिवसौ दो(लो)लयन् द्वाविवक्षौ
कालः काल्या (कस्यो) भुवनफलके कीडति प्राणिशारैः ॥

Vair. §. 42. (43)

In the game referred to here, there are two *akṣas* (dice) as in our C., and the different pieces such as elephant, horse etc., used in the latter, might well have been called *prāṇi-sāra*. But the statement, about many pieces staying in a house *i. e.*, square, seems to create a difficulty¹.

23. In the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu (c. 600 A. C.) occurs the following passage :

…पीतहरितैः कृष्णकेदारिकाकोष्ठीः (-गोष्ठीषु) समुत्पत्तद्भिर्जातुषदुरोदैरिव
न्यद्युतैः कः नयद्युतैरिव चिक्रीङ्ग……घनकालः ।

(ed. L. Gray, p. 191).

Apparently Prof. Gray's rendering of *duroda* with 'chessmen' does not seem to be satisfactory. But the term *nayadyūta* (*lit.*, game of polity) seems to point to C., which is a game involving diplomacy, for in it one pair of kings fights against another pair².

24. A m a r a s i m h a (c. 600 A. C.) in his famous *kosa* mentions *asīḍapada*, as synonymous with *sāriphala*, which as we have seen before (§13), has been explained by Kṣīrasvāmin as *caturaṅgaphalaka* (the game-board for C.).

25. In the *Sūtrākṛtāṅga* (Sūyagadāṅga) of the Jains, assigned to 600 A. C., the word *atthāvaya* (= *asīḍapada*) occurs (I. 9). The translator of the relevant passage is not willing to see here any kind of chess (S. B. E. vol. 45, p. 303,

1. Macdonell gives reasons to prove that the game referred to by Bhartṛhari "cannot have been played on the *asīḍapada*", (*op. cit.* p. 122).

2. Mr. Murray, however, is satisfied that Subandhu's reference is to chess (p. 51). Prof. F. W. Thomas first called attention to this passage, and following a commentator of Subandhu he regarded *nayadyūta* as *caturaṅga* (ZDMG. Vol. 52, p. 271). He further attempted to show from this passage that the chess-board in Subandhu's time was chequered (ZDMG. vol. 53, p. 364).

footnote). But such an attitude seems to be inadequately supported by facts. A game-board for C. might well have been meant by *astāpada*, and from the game-board the game itself (C.) might have received this name.

26. According to the *Abhidhānarājendra*, the *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, the *Prasnavyākaraṇa*, the *Jñātādharmakathā* and the *Nisīthasūtra* mention *astāpada*.

27. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (c. 600 A. C.) also, the word *astāpada* occurs in the following couplet :

ततो बलः समुत्थाय कोपसंरक्षलोचनः ।

जघानाष्टपदेनैव दक्षिणं सुमहाबलः ॥

V. 30. 23. (ed. *Vaṅgavāsi*)

From this it is learnt that *astāpada* could at times be used as a weapon for striking one. Words like *dyūta*, *glaha* and *akṣa*, occurring in connection with this *astāpada* in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, makes it probable that the game of C. has been referred to.

28. In the *Kāmasūtra* of *Vātsyāyana* (c. 400 A.C.) are mentioned terms like *dyūti* (III. 34), *dyūtaphalaka* (IV. 4), *Yakṣarātri* and *Kaumudījāyara* (IV. 12). The meaning *dyūta* and *dyūti* is not clear. These may or may not be connected with C., but the terms like *Yakṣarātri* and *Kaumudī-jāyara*, which mean the night of the full-moon in the month of *Kārtika* and *Āśvina*, respectively, probably point to the game of C., for, in the CT., in connexion with C., there occurs the following :

शङ्खरम् पुरा चूतं सर्वं सुमनोहरम् ।

कार्तिके शङ्खपक्षे तु प्रथमेऽहनि भूपते ॥

(folio, 1. a)

This occurs also in the *Sākāndalapurāṇa* (ed. *Vaṅgavāsi*, IX. 103) and probably refers to *Yakṣarātri*. And in the CT., we have the following :

तथा वात्स्यायनविकृत्य—

निशार्धे वरदा लक्ष्मीः को जागर्तीतिभाषणी ।

जगद्भर्तृकैके तस्यां लोकचेष्टाबलोकिनी ॥

(folio, 1. a)

Hence, it may be assumed that Vātsyāyana by his *Kaumudi-jāgara* refers to this activity of the goddess Lakṣmi in the night of the full-moon in the month of Āśvina. According to the *Tithitattva* this night is to be spent in playing the game of *Caturaṅga*. Hence, a description of the game occurs in this work.

29. In the *Harivamśa*, a work which may be as early as 200 A. C., occurs the following couplets containing terms like *astāpada* and *akṣa* :

एनं संपरिरण्डीष्व पातयाक्षान् नराधिप ।

कृष्णाक्षान् लोहिताक्षांश्च देशोऽस्मिंस्त्वधिपांश्चले ॥

II. 61. 37.

संकर्षणस्तदेत्थाय सौवर्णेनोक्ता वली ।

जघानाष्टापदेनैव प्रमथ्य यदुपुङ्गवः ॥

II. 61. 45-46.

स रामकरमुक्तेन निहतो धूतमण्डले ।

अष्टापदेन बलवान् राजा वज्रधरोपमः ॥

II. 61. 54.

We are not sure whether *astāpada* in the last couplet means a game-board for C. *Akṣa* in the plural number creates a difficulty, for in the CT., we learn of *two akṣas*. If it is possible that the game was also played with more dice than two, then the game referred to in the *Harivamśa* may mean C. The *akṣa* in plural also may signify the 'marks' (lit., eyes) on the dice, which were as many as six. If this were the case the game described in Hv., can easily be taken as C.¹ (The second couplet, quoted above, has its parallel in the passage, quoted above from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*).

1. Mr. Murray, however, thinks that the game referred to is dice (see p. 37).

30. In the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, a Mahāyāna Buddhist work of about 100 A. C., occurs the term *astāpada* (अष्टापदा पदनिवर्त्तम् pp. 146, 244, 337 ed. Kern). This work has no occasion to give any more information about the game which is connected with the game-board called *astāpada*.

31. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (200-300 B. C.) also we come across the term *astāpada*¹ (विश्वामित्रपदाकारां वरनारीण्युताम्, *Bala-kānda*, v. 16). *Govindarāja* explains the *astāpada* by quoting *Amara*'s 'व्यापदं शारिफकं').

32. The term *astāpada* occurs in the Hinayāna Buddhist scriptures (500 B. C.) also. For example, in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* (i. 1. 14) and in the *Vinayapitaka* (ed. Oldenberg, vol. ii. p. 10; vol. iii. p. 180) we have this word. *Rhys Davids* denies that *astāpada* may mean chess though he quotes the view of the Sinhalese commentator that game of *astāpada* was played with dice and pieces such as kings and so on (Sacred Book of the Buddhists, vol. ii. p. 9). After having reviewed the meaning of *astāpada* occurring in various works, and knowing of the game C. we may well consider that the Sinhalese commentator (c. 1000 A. C.) was in possession of the right tradition (see §15).

1. See p. xi. footnote 3.

From the Chess to the Caturanga

83. As we have something like an exact knowledge about the relatively early history of the modern game of chess (hereinafter called chess), and the C. does not come to our notice except much later, an exact determination of the relation between the two games may be of some help for tracing the early history of latter. It has been mentioned before (§2) that Captain Cox and following him D. Forbes maintained that chess in its various forms owed its origin to the ancient Indian four-handed dice-chess (or C.) and this Cox-Forbes theory has been rejected by Mr. Murray. Whatever might be the value of his very cautious view it will have to be said that after the discovery of the CD. and CT. it becomes untenable. These two Skt. texts though they are later than 1400 A. C. conclusively demonstrate one fact *viz.*, the religious character of Caturanga, which has been taken notice of as early as 1851 (The Calcutta Review, 1851 ; Murray, p. 37). It is a ritual game prescribed to be played during a certain festive night. Now, it is quite well known to students of religious culture that objects and customs connected with religious rites and practices are older than corresponding ones not so connected. Hence this religious character of the game gives us a strong ground for presumption that, of the two games the C. and the chess, which have some elements in common the former is the older.

34. If this view is allowable we can utilize the fact for determining the relation between the C. and the chess. And it may well be inferred that the chess has developed from the C. or the four-handed dice-chess ; for we can never believe that the C. after being derived from the chess was given a place in religious ritual while the older game stood outside. Such a happening would have been very much contrary to the testimony of the history of religious culture. Thus the theory propounded by Cox and supported by Forbes

seems to be quite sound. The manner in which they supported their theory of development of the four-handed dice-chess into chess deserves the most careful consideration. They think that as a result of the action of certain rules, or from the difficulty of securing a full quota of players, the game gradually became a two-handed game. At a later time the civil and religious ordinances against the use of the dice led to the abandonment of the dice character of the game ; and finally, by a rearrangement of the pieces, the game of chess as known to Persians and Muslims came into existence (Murray, p. 49). Mr. Murray, however, considers all this as 'unnatural and incredible' and thinks that an undue weight is laid upon the religious and legal ordinances against the use of dice (p. 75). But these points will be taken up again (§41) as we shall trace the development of the C. It will suffice for the present to assume that the C. is the parent of chess played in slightly varied forms all over the world and as such it originated earlier than the period in which the chess appears for the first time in history.

35. The earliest reference to the chess occurs in the *Kārnāmāk-i-Artakshātr-i-Pāpaka*, a Pahlavi or Middle Persian romance which is based upon the career of Ardashir (Artaxerxes), the son of Pāpaka, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty who ruled over Persia between 226 and 241 A. C. Nöldke is in favour of ascribing this undated work to the reign of *Khusraw II Parwiz* (590-628 A. C.). But Prof. Brown in his 'Literary history of Persia' (p. 122) concludes that the *Kārnāmāk* was probably composed about 600 A. C. (see Murray, p. 149). This reference to chess even if it be only as early as 600 A. C. would still imply a greater antiquity for the game. "For not only does it imply that the game was fairly generally known in Persia, but also that popular opinion had seized on chess as a characteristically national game in which it was fitting that the national hero should be skilled. Such opinions do not grow in a day, and a considerable period of time must be postulated for their growth in an age of slow and imperfect method of communication. Even in

mediaeval Europe it took chess more than a century to achieve a like result" (Murray, pp. 149-150). Hence it may be assumed that the game might well have been current in Persia as early as 550 A. C. Now according to the *Chaturanga* in another Pahlavi work written between 650 and 850 A. C. chess was introduced in Persia from India (Murray, p. 150). This points to India as the home of chess. But in the Indian literature itself there occurs no clear and sure reference of chess before the 1400 A. C.¹ Though Prof. Jacobi and earlier writers on the subject believed otherwise, Subandhu, Bana or Rudrata did not refer to chess. Their references as we have seen before (§§18, 21, 23) are to the game of C. This, however, does not invalidate the evidence of the Pahlavi works, and we are in possession of the fact that chess went out of India to Persia about 550 A. C. Now allowing some time for the popularity of the new game in its land of origin it will not be wrong to assume that the game itself might have been invented at least fifty years earlier i. e., about 500 A. C.² Hence we may hit upon a more or less approximate date of the origin of chess. This may well be taken as the starting point in the investigation of the antiquity of *Caturanga* or the four-handed dice-chess from which developed the game of chess.

1. The earliest reference to chess occurs in the *Metrical recension* of the *Vikramarka carita*. The relevant passage has been discussed before (§8, ii). The game has been described in considerable details in the *Nitimayukha* of *Nilakantha* (1700 A. C.). This description has been discussed by Weber (See *Monatberichte der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1873, pp 711 f., also Murray, pp. 63. f.). Some are of opinion that in a *caryāpada* by *Kṛṣṇa* (Kānha), written in Old Bengali a reference to chess has been made. This, however, seems to be wrong and it appears that *Kṛṣṇa* referred to C. For a detailed discussion on this, see the Appendix.

2. Absence of any early reference to chess in Indian literature is probably due to its comparatively late origin. It naturally took a very long time for the new game to replace the old one (C.) or to sit by its side.

The Early History of Caturanga

36. From the above discussion (§35) it may be assumed that C. (the parent of chess) was current in India about 500 A. C. Surely this was the time when the game was old enough to give rise to a new variety of it. But how old was it then? This is the question which will occupy us in the following paragraphs.

From references to C. in various works of Indian literature we learn that *astāpada* in the Haravijaya (900 A. C.) positively meant a board on which C. was played. In Bāna's Harṣacarita (700 A. C.) the same meaning undoubtedly determined the sense of *astāpada*, for in it this word was used directly in connexion with C. (अष्टापदानां चतुरङ्गकस्पना). In this work the meaning of *astāpada* the game-board for C. developed into a game played on the board of the same name. In the Amarkoṣa (600 A. C.) the word *astāpada* given as a synonym for *śāriphala*, has been explained by the commentator Kṣiravāmin (1100 A. C.) as *caturāṅga-phalaka* (game-board for C). We need not unnecessarily disbelieve the testimony of the commentator; in his time C. as a game was well known at least among North-Indian people, for in the Rājatarāṅgini (1200 A. C.) a clear reference to the game occurs (see §11 before). And in Al-Beruni's work (1100 A. C.) the game has been described in considerable details. We are quoting below the same description :

“In playing chess they move the elephant straight on, not to the other sides, one square at a time, like the pawn, and to the four corners also one square at a time, like the queen (*śīrṣān*). They say that these five squares (i. e., the one straightforward and the other at the corners) are the places occupied by the trunk and the four feet of the elephant.

They play chess—four persons at a time—with a pair of dice. Their arrangement of the figures on the chess board is the following :—

[See the Diagram 1]

As this kind of chess is not known among us, I shall here explain what I know of it.

The four persons playing together sit so as to form a square round a chess-board, and throw two dice alternately. Of the numbers of the dice the five and six are blank (i. e., do not count as such). In that case, if the dice show five or six, the player takes one instead of the five, and four instead of the six, because the figures of these two numerals are drawn in the following manner :—

6	3	2	5
4	1		

so as to exhibit a certain likeness of form to 4 and 1, viz., in the Indian signs. The name *shāh* or *king* applies here to the *queen* (*firzān*).

Each number of the dice causes a move of one of the figures.

The 1 moves either the pawn or the king. Their moves are the same as in the common chess. The king may be taken, but it is not required to leave its place.

The 2 moves the tower (*rukh*). It moves to the third square in the direction of the diagonal, as the elephant moves in our chess.

The 3 moves the horse. Its move is generally known as the third square in the oblique direction.

The 4 moves the elephant. It moves in a straight line, as the tower does in our chess, unless it be prevented from moving on. If this is the case, as sometimes happens, one of the dice removes the obstacle and enables it to move on. Its smallest

move is one square, the greatest fifteen squares, because the dice sometimes show to 4, or two 6, or a 4 and a 6. In consequence of one of these numbers, the elephant moves along the whole side of the margin in the chess-board ; in consequence of the other number, it moves along the other side on the other margin of the board, in case there is no impediment in the way. In consequence of these two numbers, the elephant in the course of his moves, occupies the two ends of the diagonal.

The pieces have certain values, according to which the player gets his share of the stake, for the pieces are taken and passes into the hands of the player. The value of the king is 5, that of the elephant 4, of the horse 3, of the tower 2, and of the pawn 1. He who takes a king gets 5, for two kings he gets 10, for three kings 15, if the winner is no longer in possession of his own king. But if he has still his own king, and takes all three kings, he gets 54, a number which represents a progression based on general consent and not on an algebraic principle" (Al-Beruni's India, London, 1910, vol. I. pp. 183 f.).

36a. We may now be allowed to assume that *astāpada* mentioned in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga (c. 500 A. C.)¹ and similar Jain works, and the Viṣṇupurāṇa (c. 500 A. C.) related to Caturaṅga, and that the *astāpada*, in the sense of the game of C. or the game-board (for it) was in use between 900 and 500 A. C. Going up to a few centuries earlier we come across this same term in the Harivamśa (c. 400-200 A. C.) and the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (c. 100 A. C.) And at a time earlier still we meet this word in the Rāmāyaṇa (c. 200 B. C.), the Brahmajāla-sutta (500 B. C.) and the Vinayapitaka (500 B. C.). Now, what will be the meaning of *astāpada* appearing in these works ? Can it be game of C. or the game-board for it ? Though there is no direct evidence which may give us sure light in this matter we

1. It was more or less two hundred years after this that the Harṣacarita was written (see p. xxi). In this work *astāpada* stands expressly connected with the C. (*ibid.*).

may still consider the attending circumstances to give a tentative answer to this question. How long a popular game and for that matter any human institution can live, cannot be precisely determined in any way. But in view of the fact that modern chess already enjoys a life of nearly a millenium and a half it may not be wrong to assume that about 500 A. C. the Caturanga was already existing for at least 1000 years. Hence, it seems very much likely, though by no means sure, that the meaning which the word *asṭāpada* had between 900 A. C. and 500 A. C. goes far back into history *i. e.*, up to the time of Buddha who prohibited this game for the monks ordained in his sect. This would stretch roughly the pre-chess history of C. to the middle of the first millenium before Christ.

37. This antiquity of C., however, rests more or less on indirect evidence. But it may not on that account be considered invalid. From the certain aspects of the game too we seem to have more or less clear hints as to its high antiquity. The first of these aspects is that C., unlike its descendant (chess) has not any minister (*mantrin*) by the side of its kings. This seems to point to a period in the history of the evolution of monarchy when the king either acted as his own minister or had no *one* fixed minister. Indeed we seem to find such a period in the history of Hindu political theories. The eleven *ratnis*, to whom offerings were to be made, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, did not include any one expressly known as *mantrin* or *amātya* (K. P. Jayaswal, 'Hindu Polity', II. pp. 16 f). This may well be interpreted as that either the king was his own minister or consulted all the eleven of his high functionaries. The first alternative seems to us to be the most probable though Mr. J a y a s w a l would accept only the second (*idid.* p. 21). For Manu's repeated injunctions against a king's independence of any minister point out, though indirectly, that kings were sometimes self-willed and autocratic (*ibid* p. 117). But whatever might be the actual fact in the case, it is sure that the institution of *one* minister or at least *one* prime minister was still unknown

in the period of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. And the Caturāṅga which apparently reflects this primitive condition has no *mantrin* by the side of its kings. This fact may be considered as an indication of the great antiquity of the game.

Another aspect of the C. which may vouch for its antiquity is its primitive *mandala* (see §5, i) which has for it the *rījigīśu* (conqueror), one *mitra* (ally), one *ari* (enemy) and one *arimitra* (enemy's ally). In ancient Indian treatises on polity we find *mandalas* of various types, consisting of kings whose number is four, six, eight, twelve or more. Among them works of Kauṭilya (c. 300 B. C.), Kāmāndaka (c. 400 A. C.) and Śukra discuss *mandalas* with eight or twelve members. It may not be wrong to assume that *mandalas* of twelve or more kings did not rise all at once and must have evolved from the primitive *mandala* of four kings which we find in the C. This would place the game long before Kauṭilya.

38. The character of the C. as an *akṣa-dyūta* or *dyūta* seems also to point to its high antiquity. In the Vedic India *dyūta* (gambling) was very much popular. But in the R̥gveda (c. 1500 B. C.) and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (c. 800 B. C.) the word *caturāṅga* occurs only in the sense of 'one having four limbs or parts'. Added to this the fact that the *ribhīdaka* nuts were used as dice it may be assumed that the Vedic Aryans probably did not know the game. But of this, as we shall see later on (§40), we cannot be quite sure.

In the Epic age, however, the situation seems to change considerably. In the Māhābhārata *caturāṅga* was associated exclusively with *bala* (army) and came generally to mean 'the four-membered army' or 'army'. As for the game of C. Mbh. does not contain any direct evidence about it. What we learn from this work about any board-game is about the *akṣa* or *akṣadyūta* or the so-called dice. This *akṣa* often translated as 'gambling' was then considered a knightly recreation (Cambridge

History of India, p. 262). For, Yudhiṣṭhira says that on being challenged for a game of dice he cannot turn his back on it (आहूतोऽहं न निवर्ते ed. Vaṅgavāsi, Sabhā, v. 68, 16).

Now *akṣa* as a knightly recreation probably points to its being something more than mere dice. Could it not be a war-game associated with dice ? Probably so it could be, for the Caturaṅga-dipikā (1500 A. C.) records a tradition that Yudhiṣṭhira played the game of C. which symbolized a fight between kings.

This tradition is indeed very late but there seems to be nothing against its being genuinely old. If *akṣa* (dice) was considered a knightly pastime it had considerable chance of being a kind of war-game. Now the only kind of war-game, associated with dice, that we know of, is the C. Hence it may be presumed, though there may not be in it anything like certainty, that Yudhiṣṭhira in the Ur-Mbh. played this very game with his cousins, and the redactors of the present Mbh. changed the description of the game, as it gradually became obsolete. Now the Ur-Mbh. may go back to 600 B. C. (see M. Winternitz, 'A History of Indian Literature' vol. I. p. 474).

The Origin and Development of Caturanga

39. Board games or games requiring plain surface for play has been divided by Murray (p. 31) into three classes :

(1) Race games, in which all men (pieces) are moved along a definite track. The typical example of this is the game of *golokdhām* (গোলোকধাম). The European game backgammon also belongs to this category.

(2) Hunt or seize games, in which one side endeavours to block or capture the adversary. The typical example is *vāgh-bandī* (বাঘবন্দী). The European example is the game of fox and the goose.

(3) War games, in which capture of prisoners plays a considerable part. The typical examples of this are the Caturanga and the chess.

"Board games appear very early in the history of human civilization. They were played by the early inhabitants of Egypt ; boards and pieces have been found in tombs even as old as the pre-dynastic period (c. 4000 B. C.) and they are depicted in paintings in tombs of the Fifth Dynasty (3600-3400 B. C.) and the masons who built the temple of Kurna (1400-1333 B. C.) cut boards on slabs which were afterwards built into the roof of the temple. Boards apparently for games have been found in the pre-historic ruins in Palestine" (Murray pp. 29-30). It appears likely that in the pre-historic India (of c. 3500 B. C.) too board games were known. For according to Mr. Mackay dice discovered in Mohenjo-daro were quite possibly used in conjunction with board games (Sir John Marshall, 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization', p. 552).

40. We have no means of knowing whether the board games which appear to have been played by the Mohenjo-daro people were in any way related to the game of Caturanga or any-

thing akin to it ; but there are perhaps indications from which it may be surmised that such a relationship might not have been altogether impossible. For example, the prevailing type of dice discovered in the Indus valley is cube-sized and has on it marks of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (not by numerals but by small ring-marks). In dice connected with the C. too similar marks are to be used for indicating 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (see Notes on 11). The relative position of these marks in the two kinds of dice is, however, not similar. The objects among Indus valley finds suspected by Mr. Mackay to be chess-men might be real chess men (associated probably with a kind of dice-chess) or they might be pieces used in ordinary dice¹. But whatever might be the value of these indications they do not certainly give us any sure clue about the origin of the game of *Caturaṅga*. From these one may, however, be tempted to assume that dice connected with the C. may probably go back to the time of the Indus culture. Such an assumption, however, may not be quite safe. The Vedic dice of *vibhūdaka* nuts by the side of the cube-sized dice (of baked earth) of the Indus valley give rise to a problem. There is no means of knowing the exact significance of these two types of dice. And without entering into any discussion on this question which relates more to the origin of Indian culture than to the origin of the C. we pass on to the early Epic age (c. 600 B. C.) when the game of C. in all probability arose (see §38).

41. In exactly what form the game was played in the beginning we have no means of knowing. It can only be assumed that it was surely not played in every detail similar to our C. The only element, that this early C. possessed, was certainly dice-throw for regulating the movement of pieces, the four kings with their attending forces. But the game requiring four persons to play it, was surely considered very complex. Hence a two-handed variety of C. could develop in course of time. But the C., be it of the

1. See Ernest Mackay, 'Indus Civilization', London, 1935, pp. 180-181 ; and also Kunjagovinda Goswami, 'Pre-historic Mohenjo-daro' (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1936, p. 43.

four-handed or the two-handed variety, was a play which involved gambling. Now the gambling was very often a source of misery. Hence in course of time, the state found it advisable to make a wholesale prohibition of it. All this is what we can gather from works like *Manu-saṁhitā*. The relevant passages from *Manu* (with *Kullūka*'s gloss) are as follows :

दूतं च जनवादं च परिवादं तथानृतम् ।

II, 179

(दूत=अक्षक्रीडा, *Kullūka*)

नाक्षेः क्रीडेत् कदाचित्तु स्वयं नोपानहौ हरेत् ।

IV, 74

(ग्लहं विना कदाचिदपि परिहासेनापि नाक्षादिभिः क्रीडेत्, *Kullūka*)

प्रातिभावयं वृथादानमाक्षिकं सौरिकं च यत् ।

VIII, 159

(आक्षिकं दूतनिमित्तम्, *Kullūka*)

क्रमशः लेलजार्दीनां दूतधर्मे निवोधत ॥

दूतं समाहयं चैव राजा राष्ट्रचिवारयेत् ।

राज्यान्तःकरणावेतौ द्वौ दोषौ पृथिवीक्षिताम् ॥

प्रकाशमेतत्तास्कर्यं यदेवनसमाहयौ ।

तयोर्नित्यं प्रतीषाते दृपतिर्यवान् भवेत् ॥

अप्राणिभिर्यत् क्रियते तल्लोके दूतमुच्यते ।

प्राणिभिः क्रियते यस्तु स विशेषः समाहयः ॥

दूतं समाहयं चैव यः कुर्यात् कारयेत वा ।

तान् सर्वान् वातयेद्राजा शद्रांश्च द्विजलिङ्गिनः ॥

IX. 220—224.

(अक्षशलाकादिभिरपार्णैर्थत् क्रियते तल्लोके दूतं कर्यते । यः पुनः प्राणिभिर्मेषकुकुटादिभिः पणपूर्वकं क्रियते स समाहयो शेयः ।.....दूतसमाहयौ यः कुर्यात्यो वा समिकः कारयेत्तेषामपराधापेक्षया राजा इस्तच्छेदादिवर्षं कुर्यात् । यशोपवीतादिद्विजचिह्नधारिणः शद्रान् इन्यात्, *Kullūka*) ।

चूतमेतत् पुराकल्पे दृष्टं वैरकरं महत् ।
 तस्माद् चूतं न सेपेत हास्यार्थमपि बुद्धिमान् ॥
 प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा तस्मिषेवेत यो नरः ।
 तस्य दण्डविकल्पः स्याद् यथेष्टं नृपतेस्तथा ॥

IX. 227—228.

Surely the strong term (*i. e.*, 'open robbery') with which gambling has been condemned, and the severe state-interference which has been earnestly advocated in the passages quoted above, probably make it clear that there came a time in the history of C. when it could not be openly played without giving up its gambling character¹. This possibly had a very profound influence in determining its evolution towards the early chess. The date of the *Manusamhitā* has been very definitely settled by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal according to whom the work in its present form is earlier than 100 A. C., while its original form, substantially existing in its present redaction, goes back to about 100 B. C. (*Manu and Yajñavalkya, Tagore Law Lectures*, 1917, Lecture II. esp. p. 50). We have seen above that about 500 A. C. the early chess was already in existence. Hence it may be assumed that in the period between 200 B. C. and 500 A. C. *Caturāṅga* gradually changed to chess. The principal stages through which the game is likely to have passed might have been as follows (see Diagrams 1, 2 and 13) :

- A. four-handed dice-chess (*caturāṅga*).
- B. two-handed dice-chess *i. e.*, each player having at his disposal two kings and other pieces, each king keeping to his court.
- C. B with the two kings standing side by side.
- D. two of the kings in B changed for two *mantrins* (ministers).

1. Mr. Murray finds it difficult to believe that gambling might ever have been restrained in India (p. 75).

Of the four possible stages *D* is well known and *A* is to be found in the *CD.* and *CT.* and a game like *C* has also been heard of (Murray, pp. 59, 74). Hence the stage *B* may well be assumed. In courses of all the different stages through which *C.* passed before it finally developed to chess, the movement of different pieces is likely to have changed from time to time and place to place. Except on this assumption we cannot account for the different movements of the elephant recorded by different writers (see Murray, p. 59).

42. Even if it may be said that the game of *C.* had some chance of being invented in the Epic age (c. 600 B. C.) or its neighbourhood we have absolutely no data for determining its place of origin. Conjectures on this point will be futile (see Notes on 8-9). Hence, we pass on to the story of the spread of its descendant, the game of chess, over different quarters of the globe. But there we do not now meet the game in its original Indian form. And chess mentioned in this connexion should be understood as a game having only some historical and fundamental affinity with the Indian game. Under these circumstances it may be assumed that the chess having been invented about 500 A. C. did not take a very long time to spread over the different countries of Asia.

43. Mr. Murray thinks that about 700 A. C. chess might have reached Burma directly from the Gangetic basin and is undoubtedly of high antiquity in this country (pp. 108-109). It is, however, possible that the game went there much earlier. The Burmese name for chess is *sittuyin*; it is probably connected with *caturanga*. The occurrence of 'chariot' in the place of 'boat' in the Burmese chess probably shows that the game was derived very early from the north-western India or the Indian Midland.

44. In Siamese chess 'boat' has replaced 'chariot', and it may be presumed that this game was derived from the *Vanga-Magadha* (Bengal-Bihar) region where we meet later with *C.* having 'boat' in the place of its 'chariot' (see Notes on 8-9, p. 4). We have no means of guessing the probable date of introduction of the

game in Siam. In Annam too we meet with the game and it is called *chhoen trāng* (a word connected with *caturanga*). Chess is very widely played by the Malayan people and it is one of their most popular games. Sumatra, Java and Borneo have each its own game of chess. People of Sumatra play this game for stake and in this way prove to be maintaining the tradition of the good old C. It cannot be ascertained when the game was introduced here for the first time, but it is sure that it was not much later than 700 A. C. One common Malayan name for C. is *chātor* derived most probably from *caturanga*. The name *ter* for boat (rook) may be connected with Skt. *tari* and this may be said to indicate that the game was derived from the Vāṅga-Magadha region. Javanese chess too has the boat (*prahu*) and seems to have been received from the north-eastern India.

45. The Chinese chess though it considerably differs from that of India has been taken to be of Indian origin. The names of pieces such as chariot, horse, elephant and councillor conclusively prove this (Murray, p. 119). From the occurrence of 'chariot' it may be assumed that the Chinese game went out from the north-western India. Buddhism too reached China from the same region. But there is no sure data for determining the time of the introduction of chess into China. The earliest sure reference to Chinese chess occurs in a work dated the 8th century A. C. (Murray, p. 123). The game might have entered China by the 700 A. C. In Corea too chess is played but it is probably derived from the Chinese game. Japanese chess is again derived from an old variety of Corean game now extinct, (Murray, p. 134). But the entry of the game into Japan cannot be placed earlier than the 10th century (Murray, p. 138).

46. The introduction of chess into Persia has been discussed before (§35). It is the Persian name of the king that has been proved to be at root of naming this piece in different European languages. The game of chess entered the Byzantian Empire by about the 8th century not from India direct but from Persia

(Murray, pp. 163ff). The earliest mention of chess in Arabic literature occurs in the work of Al-Ādli (900 A. C.), and during the first two centuries of the Abbāsid Caliphate was written a vast literature on chess (Murray, p. 169).

47. Besides being played in countries named above the game of chess is current among peoples of Tibet, Mongolia, Siberia, Turkestan and Trans-Caucasia (Murray, p. 366).

48. So far about the game of chess in different parts of Asia. In the countries of Europe too the game spread from Arabic source from about 800 A. C. onwards (Murray, p. 402). And in the present times it is the European variety of chess that is much in vogue all over the world.

The Caturangadipika and its Author

49. The unique Ms. of the Caturaṅgadipikā (Visvabharati Ms. No. 970), according to its colophon, was written in 1701 śaka (*candra-khaśvaśvinī-māne śāke*). It consists of eight paper leaves $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ inches. Though very legibly written, it is full of different kinds of errors, the nature and extent of which will be discovered by a glance at the foot-notes of the Sanskrit text. In spite of the best efforts of the editor a small number of passages remained almost obscure. Reconstruction and interpretation in these cases are to be taken as tentative. It may, however, be hoped that their number will not be too many and they will not materially affect whatever has been said about the origin and development of the game of C. on the basis of the present text. The editor is well aware of the danger of preparing a critical edition from a corrupt Ms. and would have left alone the present work owing to this difficulty ; but the importance of the text of the CD., however imperfectly handed down, for the history of the modern chess, demanded that this unique material in hand should be utilized as far as possible. This has been the justification for publishing the present volume containing the text of the CD.

50. The CD. is composed in Skt. verse and prose. It appears very much to be a compilation from various works (now lost)¹ on the subject. Prose passages mostly in the nature of comments seem to be by an author different from Śūlapāṇi the compiler of the original work, which except for prose connecting links, is in verse. The name of this second author was one Gurucarapa (see the prose passage following sloka. 86).

1. One Pandit Rādhākānta informed Sir William Jones that the C. passage in the Tīthitattva occurred in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. Available versions of the Purāṇa, however, does not contain this (see Murray, p. 49). This Purāṇa, however, might have been known to the Pandit in a different recension.

The CD. treats the game of four-handed dice-chess in considerable details. But the game seems to have been too complex to be conveniently treated exhaustively in writing. Though a very general view of the game is available from the work much obscurity still lingers and we have noticed it before.

51. It seems that quite a good number of works on the subject was current at one time. For the CD. mentions the names of the following : Caturāṅga - pāddhati, Divyāmālikā (or Mālikā), Yāmala, Bhārata. But none of these works unfortunately are available. The only available text on C. other than the CD. is the Caturāṅgatāraṅgiṇi mentioned before. Our text, besides referring to works named above, mentions the following persons as authorities on the game :

Vyāsa, Yama, Pitāmaha (Brahmā ?), Gautama, Bhṛgu, Manu, Rṣyaśringa, Agastya, Mahāmanu, Pitāmaha - Manu, Jābāla, Yājñavalkya, Miśra, Gurucaranya. In none of the available Purāṇas and similar works we come across any information connecting any of these names with C. But it is, however, possible that writings on C. ascribed to these authorities have been lost to us.

52. According to the colophon of the Ms. *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Śūlapāṇi is the author of the CD. But we have already pointed out that he should be considered merely the compiler of the metrical portion of the text. Śūlapāṇi's date is fairly certain. He was a *Smṛti-nibāṇhakāra* of Bengal and flourished in the 15th century. His other works are several *Vivekas* e. g., the Śuddhi-viveka, the Śrāddha-viveka etc. (For an account of Śūlapāṇi see JASB for 1915, pp. 336-343 and P. V. Kane, 'History of Dharmasāstra', Poona, 1930, vol. I, pp. 393f). Raghunandana (16th century) considerably exploited the works of his famous predecessor while writing his several *Tattvas*. Hence it is only natural that some thirty-four couplets of the CD. are found in the *Tithitattva* of this author.

Appendix to the Introduction

Kṛṣṇapāda seems to be no other than Kānupa, Kānha or Kṛṣṇācārya ; he flourished at a time prior to 1200 A. C. (S. K. Chatterji, 'The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language', §63). The following *caryāpada* of Kṛṣṇa, according to the opinion of Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah [মুহাম্মদ শাহিদুল্লাহ, জারা, ১৩২৪ (১)] and others, contains a reference to the game of chess :

করণা পিহাডি খেলহঁ নঅবল
 সদ্গুর বোহে জিতেল ভববল ॥ ক্ষ ॥
 কৌটউ হুআ। মা দেসিরে ঠাকুর
 তআরি উএস কাহুণিঅড় জিনউর ॥ ক্ষ ॥
 পহিলেঁ তোড়িআ বড়িআ মরাড়ি-(ই)উ
 গঅবরেঁ তোলিআ পাখজনা ঘোলিউ ॥ ক্ষ ॥
 মতিএঁ ঠাকুরক পরিনিবিষ্টা
 অবশ করিআ স্ববল জিতা ॥ ক্ষ ॥
 তগই কাহু আকে ভলি দাহ মেহঁ
 চউবাটি কোঠা শুণিআ লেহঁ ॥ ক্ষ ॥

(H. P. Shastri, 'Bauddha gān-o-dohā', Calcutta, 1323 B.E., p. 22).

The chief objection to Dr. Shahidullah's view comes from the word *duā*, which cannot mean anything other than *a throw of two* in a game involving the use of dice. We do not know of any two-handed chess combined with dice. The next objection is about the interpretation of the word *mati* which Dr. Shahidullah likes to derive from *manti* in opposition to the Skt. commentary to the *caryāpada* which translates it with *matyā*. The phonetic difficulty in Dr. Shahidullah's derivation is so great that one will hardly find it acceptable and hence we have no reason to reject the view of the commentator who seems to have had a very clear idea of the game referred to in the *caryāpada*. The preface to the commentator's exposition of the *caryā* (*puṇar api tam evārtham dyūta - kṛiṇā - dhyānenā prakathayanti Kṛṣṇācārya-pādāḥ...*) shows that the game referred to was a *dyūta-kṛiṇā*. We have seen before that the game of *Caturaṅga* was also described as such. All these seem to point to the conclusion that Kṛṣṇapāda in his *caryā* referred not to chess but to *Caturaṅga*.

SANSKRIT TEXT

थलपाणिता

चरूरङ्गदीपिका

—: ० :—

३० नमो गणाय ।

नत्वा चरिपदाभ्योजं भ्रमद्भ्रमरगुञ्जतः ।

ीपिका चरूरङ्गस्य क्रियते शुलपाणिना ॥ १ ॥

तथथा—जनमेजयरूपपक्षिनारदयुधिष्ठिर्व्याससंददे^१
चरूरङ्गकांडा भुवि उद्दाष्टै । जनमेजयः^२ रूपतमपृच्छत् ।*
रूपतनापि व्यासादयद् वृत्तं^३ श्रुतं तत्तस्मै कथितम् । तथथा—
पुरा^४ कश्चिन्मुनिन्नत्रः शापात् पक्षी^५ जातस्तेन पाणा इन्द्राय
कथितं कीडन्तामेनः दृष्टा नारदः^६ युधिष्ठिराय कथयाः स
युधिष्ठिरश्च व्यासमपृच्छत् । व्यासेन यदुक्तं तत् शृणु—
जनमेज^७ उवाच—

कर्मणा केन^८ भगवत् श्रियं प्राप्तो युधिष्ठिरः ।

विस्तरेण च तत् कर्म कथ्यतां मे तपोधन ॥ २ ॥

सूत उवाच—

स्वर्गं सभायां राजेन्द्र महेन्द्रस्य पुरैकदा ।

कश्चित् पक्षी^९ समायातस्तेनागादि सुरेश्वरः ॥ ३ ॥

1. ms. -तं. 2. ms. -सम्मादे. 3. -जय. 3a. ms. -तात्त्वं.

4. ms. पूरा. 5. ms. यात०. 6. ms. नारद. 7. ms. जनमेजय.

8. ms. भगवद्. 9. ms. पूर्वै. 10. ms. पक्षीः.

इन्द्र त्वं देवशर्दूल^१ कुरु क्रीडां महामत ।
 मदुक्तां शृणु राजन् सर्वकामान्तर्पदाः ॥ ४ ॥
 अदिष्टस्तेज राजे नारदेन राष्ट्रणा ।
 श्रुतं तत्त्वशर्दूल^२ तेनागाः युधिष्ठिरः ॥ ५ ॥
 तत्त्वं श्रुत्वा नृपतिश्रेष्ठो^३ हृष्टः सपदि खेलने ।
 आत्मानं उत्तरांस्तात्र^४ व्यासादीनां तपास्त्वनाः ॥
 मुनीनां कुञ्जरं व्यासं कथयामास पार्थिवः ॥ ६ ॥

युधिष्ठिर उवाच—

‘अष्टकाष्ट्यान् या क्रीडा॑ तां मे ब्रूहि तपोधन ।
‘प्र॑ र्षेण॑व मे(?)नाथ ‘कराजी यथा भवेत् ॥ ७ ॥

व्यास उवाच—

अष्टौ काष्ठा- द्वादश्य प्रदा- णकमेण तु ।
 अरुणं पूर्वतः कृत्वा दक्षिणे हरितं बलम् ॥ ८ ॥
 पार्थ पश्चिमतः पीत्तरे श्यामलं बलम्
 राजो वा [१८]मे गजं कुर्यात् तस्मादश्वं ततस्तारेः ।
 कुर्यात् वोन्तेय पुरतो युद्धे पर्ति च अष्टयम् ॥ ९ ॥

यमस्तु—

कोणे नौका द्वितीयेऽवत्त तीये च गजो वसेत् ।
तुरीये च वसेद्राजा 'पुरतो वटिकाः स्थिताः ॥ १० ॥
इति चनकमण बलानि पातये ।

1. ms. -शाहूल. 2. ms. तत्. 3. ms. -शेषः. 4. ms. -वान्दत्तम्.
 5. अद्यक्षात्मा. 6. S यां कीडां. 7. ms. प्रकर्षनेय. 8. S चतुरामी.
 9. ms. adds इति व्यासः. 10. S शक्तिः ग्रन्थः स्थिताः.

पञ्चकेन वटी राजा च ष्केणव कुञ्जरः ।

तृतीये च चलत्यश्वः पार्थ नौका द्वयेन तु ॥ ११ ॥

इति व्रजेण बलानि पातयेत् । तिकेणेति [च] पाठः ।*

पंचमस्तावाय—

वटिका पञ्चके राजन् राजाऽप्येवं हि गच्छते ।

त्रुये गजस्त्रीये [च]⁴ चलत्यश्वो द्वये तरिः ॥ १२ ॥

इति⁵ ।

कोष्ठमेदः विलङ्घात्य सर्वतो याति भूपतिः ।

अग्र एव वटी याति बलं च न्यग्रकोणगम् ॥ १३ ॥

यथेष्टं च जरो याति चतुर्देव मरीपते ।

गतिर्यक् च रङ्गमो याति लङ्घयित्वा तिकोष्ठमः ।

कोणकाष्ठं यं लङ्घ्य व्रजेन्नौका युधिष्ठिर ॥ १४ ॥

पंचमालिकायां—

सिंहासनं च राजी नृपाकृष्टन्तु षट्पदम् ।

विलङ्घात्यं वृभोका नौकाकृष्टप्रकारम् ॥ १५ ॥

इति व्यासः । सिंहासनं प्रवेशः, नृपाकृष्टं वकङ्गामी, षट्पदं पात्रप्रवेशः, नौकांष्ठं नकडी ।

यमः—

घाताघाते वटीनो न बलं हन्ति युधिष्ठिर ।

राजा गजो हयश्चापि त्यक्ता घातं निन्ति वै⁶ ॥ १६ ॥

1. S. तिकेण तु. 2. ms. चतुर्दस्तावायि तिकोणेति पाठः.

3. ms. रुप्ये. 4. ms. *avagraha* only for च. 4a. ms. adds च.

5. ms. omits this hemistich ; it has been taken from S. 6. ms. षट्पदम् । पस्त्रप्रवेशः. 7. ms. षट्पदः. 8. S. च.

यत एते भाष्यलाः

अत्यन्तं स्वबलं रक्षेत् 'स्वराजबलम्' तत्त्वम् ।

स्वल्पस्या[२०] रक्षया राजन् उन्तव्यं बलम् तत्त्वम् ॥ १७ ॥

बलं उन्तव्यमत्यर्थः । केषाचिन्मते 'अत्यन्तं स्वबलं रक्षेत् स्वराजबलमुत्तमम्' एतेनातिममत्वं दाशेत्^२ । * 'स्वराज- [बलं'] स्वकीयराजबलमिवात्यन्तं महद्यजेन [रक्षेत्] । उत्तमे चेत्^३ यथात्मबले ममता स्वप्नेयायां सेनायामपि तथा कल्पेत्' इति भावः । । उत्तरापि किञ्चिन्मिन्तस्यापे ।

नो गयाश्वस्त्वारि पदान्यश्वस्त्राथो पदानि च ।

मत् अस्य गव्येण राजा क्रीडति निर्भयम्^५ ।

तस्मात् सर्वबलं दत्त्वा रक्ष गृह्णेत् कुञ्जरम् ॥ १८ ॥

प्रितामहर्त—

तस्माद् यजेन कौन्तेरु कुञ्जरं रक्ष सर्वतः ॥ १९ ॥

च रक्षप्रदता तु—

तस्माद् सर्वप्रयजेन रक्ष कौन्तेय कुञ्जरम् ॥ २० ॥

तस्मा नैव सर्वबलं दत्त्वा कुञ्जरो न रक्षणीयः ।

मालिकायां व्यासः—

न कुर्यादेकदा राजन् गजरा भेषुखं गजम् ।

यदि कुर्वीत धर्मज्ञः पापग्रस्तो भावन्ति ॥ २१ ॥

इति वचना - गजसन्ति गजं नैव पातय ।

1. १. स्वराजाऽ. ms. स्वप्रजबलं तत्त्वम्: 2. ms. -तं. 3. ms. उत्तममेत्. 4. ms. कल्पते. 5. ms. निर्भयम्. 6. ms. चतुर्थस्वता तु नैव तस्मात् सर्वबलं दत्त्वा कुञ्जर न रक्षणीयः । तस्मात् सर्वप्रयजेन न रक्ष कौन्तेय कुञ्जरं for चतुर्थस्वता……रक्षणीयः.

यमस्तु—

गजस्य संमुखे राजन् गजं नैव प्रपातयः ।

प्रमादा, क्रियते येन विप्रत्यां करोति सः ॥ २२ ॥

प्रमादा, स्थानाभावे[ऽपि] गजं न चाल्येत् । मैयिलार्त्त
‘मृतेऽपि धेदि न दीयते’ इति जानन्ते[ऽपि] गजयोर्मध्यबलं
चालयन्ति ।* तत्त्वेषाम् तानाजीणोद्गारवमनम् ।

अतो व्यासत्—

अतिप्रमादाद्राजेन्द्र गजयोर्मध्यगं^१ बलम् ।

चालयेन्न च पुण्यार्थी^२ तद्वानं नैव खेलये ॥ २३ ॥

इति वचना- यदि गङ्गार्धे बलं तिष्ठति तदा पतिते दानेऽपि
तद्वलं नैव खेलये ।

पतिते नाजिना दाने नो चेत् काष्ठन् विद्यते ।

चालारे[२६]त्वा च वटिकां राज्ञः क्रोडेऽस्य ‘संस्थितिः ॥२४॥

इति गोतमवचना, पञ्चत्रिः पतितेऽश्वस्य स्थानाभावे राज-
सन् त्ववटिकां चालारे त्वा तत्त्वेवाश्वस्य स्थानम्, न तु कोण-
वटिकाः, एषा तु [अ]श्वकेष्ठास्थिताऽश्वोऽपरः^३ । मौयेलार्त्त
‘तायारावभ्यकत्वः’ ।* एतत्तु तद्विषये, परं सर्वत्र बाष्ठव्यः ।

‘बलद्वये च कल्पोद्दे ज्येष्ठत्वाचालयुधः ।

पञ्चत्रिः पञ्च ज्येष्ठं स्यादेवं सर्वत्र युज्यते ॥ २५ ॥

इति गौतमः ।

1. ms. हृत्या. 2. ms. मध्यम. 3. ms. तद्वान. 4. ms. संस्थितिरिति.

5. ms. पञ्चः ति. 6. ms. एतत्तु त्वक्तेस्तित्वाश्वपरं. 7. ms. हौ
बलस्येकानोऽस्य. 8. पञ्च ति.

व्यास्तर् ।

पश्चाति पतिते दाने पुनर्द्योः ।

ज्येष्ठत्वाकालये[तु] पश्च पार्थेत् कथितं ध्रुवम् ॥ २६ ॥

इति वचनात् पश्चाति पतिते दाने उपर्यात् पश्च एव चालयत्
न तु त्रिः । एवं सर्वत्र ज्ञेयम् । चतुर्द्धपद्धतावप्येवम् ।

द्वैविधं हि बलं प्राप्तं स्वल्पं वा यदि वा बहु ।

न्तव्यं गौरवं यत्र इति पार्थं मयेरितः^२ ॥ २७ ॥

हस्त्यश्वपत्तिनौकायाः^३ एवं सर्वत्र युज्यते ।

राजम्भरयोः पार्थं स्वेच्छया ॥ २८ ॥

इति वचनात् यदा द्वैविधं बलं प्राप्नति तदा 'यत गौरवं
तद्वन्तव्यः ।' * हस्त्यश्वयोर्मध्ये हस्त्येव गरीया-, पत्तिनौकयो-
र्मध्ये नौकैव गरीयसी, किन्तु राजम्भरयोर्मध्ये कर्तुर्या
इच्छा । 'गौरवं यत्र [इति] पार्थं मयेरितः'^४ अत्र यतिभङ्गाद^५-
सन्धिः । * सन्धिस्तु 'कर्तुरिच्छया [.....] ।' * वत्तुरत्तु गज
एव न्तव्यः^{५a}, यतो बलानां श्रेष्ठत्वात् ।

ज्येष्ठो बलानां राजन्- गज एव प्रभीतेः ।

तरसाच्च सर्वेषामेकतात् युधिष्ठिर ॥ २९ ॥

तत्त्वात् इति शेषः । 'एकत' एकम् एकं कृत्वा ।' * परिनौकयो-
नौकैव^६ ।

मालकायः ।

'घातयन्वयेत् पार्थं सर्वत्रैव हि बुद्धि[३०]मान् ।

विन्धने श्रुणु कान्ते व्यवस्थां ददतो मम ॥ ३० ॥

1. ms. पश्चाति: 2. ms. मयेरितः 3. ms. चां 4. ms. तत्र

4a. भङ्गाद् 5. ms. म्भुज्या 5a. ms. adds यतो 6. नौकैव

7. ms. न्तव्यसन्धये ।

विन्धयेद् यत्र तस्मै बलं हृषा हि च। ३१ ॥

विन्धने सति राजन् दिनेष्य चाऽत्मनोऽपि वा ॥ ३१ ॥

युद्धते विन्धनं छेतुं [विष्णवान्न] १ तु विन्धयेत् ।

तदभावे नृपश्चेष्ठ सुतरां विन्धयेत् सुधीः ।

अ न ता विन्धनं नास्ति त्विति व्याससमीरितम् ॥ ३२ ॥

इति व्यासवचनाद् [यदा] २ तस्य आत्मना बलस्य विन्धने
सति तद्वलेन विन्धनं छेतुं शक्यते तदा विन्धनं छेयं न तु
विष्णवान् विन्धयेत् ।* किन्तु तदभावे चेद् विन्धनं छेतुं न
शक्यते तदा विन्धयेत् ।* किन्तु चेत् दद्वपि धातितुं
शक्यते तदा न विन्धयेत् ।

अत्र प्रतिप्रसवमाह भृगुः—

खायेद् यस्य कोन्ते ३ न वाक्स्तस्य विन्धने ।

न च कार्यं तस्य मैत्रे भृगुणा कथितं मतम् ॥ ३३ ॥

इति वचनाद् यस्य बलं खादेतुं न शक्यते तत्र खायम् ।
तस्य बलं वेन्धुं शक्यते । अत निर्दोषः । ४ [मि] वावलं
वेन्धुं न शक्यते ।

बलस्य धातने पार्थं विन्धनं चेत् समुत्थितम् ।

मित्रस्य इति विस्वातो बलाधातस्तु पाण्डवः ॥ ३४ ॥

इति वाक्याद् शबोर्वलधातने चेन् ५ दद्वते विन्धनं ६ जातं तदा
बलाधातः कथ्यते ।

1. ms. omits विष्णवान्, see note 3. 2. ms. सूतवा. 3. This suggests विष्णवान् in ll. 32. 4. ms. खायं. 5. ms. वेन्धु. 6. [x] अ
ए [x] वेन्धु न शक्यते. 7. ms. पाण्डवः. 8. ms. चेत्. 9. ms. जातं.

महावलाभी राजन् सदृश्याम कारयत् ।

सदृष्टे परिते राजन् श्रव्यामवाप्यति ।

कारयत् यदि साङ्कृत्यं सदृशं धातयत् ॥ ३५ ॥

इति व्यासवचना॑, महावला॑ सदृश्याम कारयत् । महावला॑
सदृश्यामः । तथामि वेण वेन्वो वैपूत्य राजा एवं कोण-
स्थाया वाटेन्वया अप्रे॒ वालिताऽशस्तिष्ठति चेत् [३६] तदा-
त्मनश्चतुः॒पच्चे सति [दाने] अश्वो नैव हन्तव्यः ।* मैयिलात्
यदि॒ साङ्कृत्यं सदृशं धातयत् । इति वचनात्
यात्यादेत् ।* ६ तच्च॒ रुपद्वातेकारस्य सखलनमिति गुरु-
चरणाः ।* वचनस्य ६ प्रामाण्याभावात् । तन्न तेषां यद्रोचते
तत् कार्यम् ।

द्वौ बलौ मित्रशत्रौ॑ संप्राप्तौ पार्थ वैकदा ।

न्तव्यो द्वौ बलौ राजन् शून्या च वाटेकान्तरः ।

द्वौ बलौ वाटिकान् नाना द्वौ बलौ बलवत्तरे ॥ ३६ ॥

इति यमवचनात् तेनावश्यं द्वौ बलौ रुद्धत्यो । एतत् सर्वत्रैव
योजये ।

राजा रुद्धत्यैवाश्वो धातं त्यक्ता नि॒ न्ति च ।

रानाभावेऽपि रुद्धत्यै धातेऽपि प्राप्ते बलम् ।

यमेन कथितश्चैत न्तव्यं तदबलं ततः ॥ ३७ ॥

- क्ष्वो०
- ms. वालिताऽशस्ति०
- ms. चतु०
- ms. reads वा after this, but it spoils the metre of the quoted verse.
- ms. वचनात्
- ms. तत्
- ms. प्रामाण्याभावात्
- ms. सर्वत्रैव
- This line is repeated in the ms.

इति यमवचनात् घातेऽपीति स्थानाभावे बलं चेत् प्राप्यते तद्बलं
न्तव्यम् । मैथिलैश्च [एतत्] खारः दावश्च कर्यते ।
एतत्तु ग्राम्यभाषा । चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्यवद् ।

बलस्य चालने राजन् क्रममा भनीष्णिः³ ।

दर्शयित्वा त्रयं स्थानं तदा धीमान् बलं नयेत् ॥ ३८ ॥

एवं बलनन—

बलानां हनने राजन् बलं तूर्णं न तोलयेत् ।

दर्शयित्वा बहून् दोषान् बलं तस्माद्धठान्येत् ॥ ३९ ॥

प्रमादा-यदि कोन्ते भ्रमं स्या लघातने ।

[३९ प्रामोति च] बहून् दोषान् पापग्रस्तो भविष्यते ॥ ४० ॥

इति वचनात् । तस्य बिन्धनं चेत्तते तदा बलं नैव
हन्तव्यं । अक्षतमित्रेण । त्रये बलं हन्तुं न शक्यते ।
एतत्तूभयल ज्ञेयम् ।* हत्यादिदोषान् दत्त्वा बलं तदैव
स्थापयेत् । त्रयतयं दत्त्वा…… [42] तद्यथा घातत्रये पतति ।
एवं द्वौ बलौ प्राप्ते अथवा तस्य राजानां बिन्धने सति बिन्धनं
द्वेत्तुं चेत् शक्यते तदा बिन्धनं द्वेयम् ।* एवं सर्वतः ।
यदि प्रमादात् क्रोधाद् भ्रमं स्याद् दोषे सति दोषान् दर्शयेत्
न शक्यते तदा पापग्रस्तो भविष्यते । चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्यवद् ।

महाबलाश्च बिद्धाश्चेद् विपक्षे बहुलाभता ।

छेदयेद्विन्धनं राजन् विपक्षं नैव घातयेत् ॥ ४१ ॥

1. ms. मैथिलात् । 2. ms. खारः । 3. ms. मनीष्णिः । 3a. ms.
मवेतस्य । 4. ms. दन्धने । 5. ms. दत्तसुभयल । ज्ञेयं हत्यादि । 6. ms. द्वेत्तुं ।
7. ms. सर्वतः ।

इति वचनाद् महाबला 'विद्धाश्वेत् विपत्स्य बलं प्राप्नोति
तदा विन्धनं छेयं न तु विपक्षधातनः' ।

अन्यः अपदं राजा यदा यातो³ युधिष्ठिर ।
तदा सिंहासनं तस्य 'भण्यते न पसराम ॥ ४२ ॥

राजा च नृपतिं हत्वा कुर्यात् सिंहासनं यदा ।
द्विगुणं वाहय, 'पण्यः न्ययैकगुणं भवेत्' ॥ ४३ ॥

द्विगुणत्वं षट्कृष्णदत्तपापित्यर्थः । मैथिलास्तु द्विगुणत्वे
सिंहासनातः । तत्तेषां तद्वलप्रभू । मित्रराजपदमेव बोद्धव्यम् ।

यमस्तु—

मित्रसिंहासनं पार्थ यदारोहति भूपतिः ।
तदा सिंहासनं नाम सर्वं नयति तद्वलम् ॥ ४४ ॥

इति वचनादपि षट्लिंशद्⁸ जयः ।

यदा सिंहासनं कर्तुं राजा षष्ठपदा न्वतः⁹ ।
तदा घातेऽपि हन्तव्यो बलेनापि सुरक्षितः ॥ ४५ ॥

इति व्यासवचनाद्राजा बलेन सुरक्षितोऽपि यस्मिन् काले
ससैन्यः सन् प्रवेशं कर्त्तमुद्यतस्तदा घातेऽपि हन्तव्यः ।

द्विगुणप्रभू नृपे 'यस्य स्वकीये च नृपत्रयम्' ।

प्राप्नोति च 'यदा तस्य चरूराजी 'तदा भवेत्' ॥ ४६ ॥

1. ms. विन्धा-. 2. ms. घातनं. 3. ई क्रान्तो. 4. ms. प्रवेश-
मित्यर्थः for भण्यते नृपसराम which is in ई. 5. ms. युण्य०. 6. ई
adds द्विगुणं पण्यं घातव्यत्वेन प्रापयेत्. 7. ms. -यं. 8. ms. त्रिशत्.
9. ई नृपियः. 10. ई यत्. 11. ms.-त्रयं. 12. ई तदा. 13. ई यदा.

इति व्यासवचनात् इत्येत् नृपे सति [चेत्] राष्ट्राणां प्राप्ताति
तदा तस्य चतुराजो भवेत् ।

नृपेणैव नृपं हत्वा चतुराजो यदा भवेत् ।

द्विगुणं वाहयेत् पण्यमन्यथैकगुणं भवेत् ॥ ४७ ॥

[४८] अत्रापि द्विगुणत्वे चतुर्गुणाद् जयः ।

स्वपदस्थं यदा राजा राजानं हन्ति पार्थिव ।

चतुरङ्गे तदा भूप चात्मेष्व चतुर्गुणम् ॥ ४८ ॥

अतेदं बीजम्^१ उभयथा जयेऽपि परसिंहसनाधिकारात् परराज-
वधे शौर्याधिक्यं निष्कण्टकत्वदर्शनात्, क्रीडायामपि तथा
कल्पेत्^२ । अत्र चतुर्गुणत्वे दिसस्तातर्जयः^३ । मैथिला अप्येवं
वदन्ति ।

गौतमः—

यदा सिंहासने काले चतुराजी समुत्थिता ।

‘चतुराजो भवत्येव न तु सिंहसनं नृप ॥ ४९ ॥

एततु सर्वत्रैव बोधव्यम् ।

प्रवेशे यदि तस्यैव ‘चतुराजी भवेत् पुनः ।

चतुराजी च कृत्वा वै द्विगुणं पण्यमान्यात् ॥ ५० ॥

इति वचनात् प्रवेशकाले यदि तस्य चतुराजी भवेत्तदा चतुराजी
एव न तु प्रवेशः । पण्यं दातव्यत्वेन प्रापयेत् । ‘चतुर्गुणात्-
वप्येवम् ।

राजद्वयं यदा हस्ते आत्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते ।

परेण संहृतश्चैको बलेनाप्यपहर्यते ॥ ५१ ॥

1. ms. शत्रजयं. 2. ms. बीजं. 3. ms. कल्पते. 4. ms. जयं.

5. ms. चतु-. 6. ms. चतुरङ्गे तावप्येवं.

इति वचनम् । राजन्ये सति आसना राज्ञि संस्थिते च परेण
चेदेको नातस्तद् वलनापार्यः ।* वस्तुत्तु नैवं वकडावकडीमति
नेतुं न निष्यत ।

तद्यथा व्यासः—

उठिते च बले राजन्नेवं दृश्यादिचक्षणः ।

राजन्ये स्थिते 'हस्ते अन्यो नीतश्च शत्रुणा ।

वकडावकडीरुके राजानमानये ठात् ॥ ५२ ॥

इति वचनात् राजन्यः^३ हस्तस्थे सति स्त्राणा निराजा वा
शत्रुणा नातस्तद् वकडावकडीरुके तात् कालेकम्भेव हस्ता-
शयेत् ।* नृपाकृष्टमतत्^४ ।

५३. राजन्यं यदा हस्ते न स्थान्यकरे परः ।

तदा राजा हि राजानं घातेऽपि तं निष्यति] ॥ ५३ ॥

व्यासः—

नृपाकृष्टं यदा राजा गान्ध्यति युधिष्ठिर ।

तदा घातेऽपि नृतव्या यदि^५ तत्र न रक्षकः ॥ ५४ ॥

इति [५२] वचनात् राजा यदि नृपाकृष्टं कर्तुं^६ गच्छते^७ तदा
घाते नृतव्यः, नृपाकृष्टभद्रस्वात् ।

मनुः—

८बलेनैकेन राजन् हास्तेन्तरं रगस्य^९ वा ।

राजन् विन्धनं छेत्तुं वकडा चेत् समुत्थिता ॥ ५५ ॥

1. ms. हस्तेऽन्यसीतङ्ग. 2. ms. -दडाव. 3. ms. -स्य. 3a. ms. स्वप्नाम निराजा. 4. ms. -मेत. 5. This couplet is from S. 6. ms. राजा for यदि. 7. ms. गच्छति. 8. ms. एकैकं तु. 9. ms. -रगस्य.

कारय वकडां पार्थ बिन्धनं नैव छेदये ।

राज्ञ बिन्धने पार्थ पाक्षुं न करये ॥ ५६ ॥

इति चतुर्दशी चेत् गजराजस्य वा बिन्धने सति वकडा समुत्थिता । अत [एक-] काले कबलन हयं [चेत्] प्राप्यते बिन्धनं छेदनं कत्तु॑ शक्यते एवं वकडां कत्तु शक्यते तदा वकडा कार्या न तु बिन्धनच्छेदनम् ।* किन्तु राज्ञो बिन्धने बिन्धनं छेयम्^२ अन्यथा राज्ञि हते नृपाकृष्टभङ्गः अर्धमलाभः केवलः । अत एव व्यासः—

उठाकाले तु राजेन् वकडा चेत् समुत्थिता ॥ ५७ ॥

मालिकायां निषेधः—

राज्ञे स्थिते हस्ते मिलेण हन्यते यदा ।

स्वराजः^३ वल्विति प्राह मीनमारश्च पाण्डव^४ ।

वकडावकडी^५ च चात्र नेतु॑ न शक्यते ॥ ५८ ॥

‘खलु’ निश्चितं राजद्वय^६ हस्ते सति स्वराजः^७ प्रवेशभङ्गार्थं मिलेण धातयित्वा यदि तस्मै दीयते तदा नरस्य राजानं नेतु॑ न शक्यत ।* मीनमारत्वादिति बाष्पव्ययः^८ । मानः^९-शब्दो ग्राम्यभाषायामदन्तः^{१०} । चतुरङ्गपद्मतावप्येवः ।

कोणं राजपदं त्यक्तवा चातुर्दशी यदा ब्रजेत् ।

‘वटी षष्ठपदं नाम तदा काष्ठवं नयेत् ॥ ५९ ॥

षट्पदात्यमेतत् । कोष्ठबलं कोष्ठस्थितबलः ।

1. ms. कारयेद् कडां.
2. ms. छेयं.
3. ms. स्वराजा.
4. ms. माणुष.
5. ms. द्वय.
6. ms. स्वराजा.
7. ms. -स्यं.
8. ms. -भाषाम् न्तः.
9. ms. राजापदं.
10. ई वटी नयेत् पदं नाम तदा कोष्ठबलं च तदा

निषेधमाह यमः—

अपात्रस्थां हि वटिकां प्रवेशे नैव धातये ।

पात्रस्था चेद् भवद्राज- यदात्तां धातये, सुधीः ॥ ६० ॥
धाते सति विषयस्य सा प्रवेशं न चाहति ।

[... ]

विजानीयाहता ॥ [५६] इति गौतमभाषेतः ॥ ६१ ॥

इति वचनात् अपात्रस्था वटिका प्रवेशं नाहति । पात्रस्था चेत्तदायात् [ग]तायुष्कं^१ कुर्यात् ।

प्रतिप्रसवमाह गौतमः—

पदातेः षट्पदे विद्धे राजा वा रस्तना तथा ।

षट्पदं न भवेत्तत्त्वं चावश्यं शृणु पार्थिव ॥ ६२ ॥

इति ।

यमः—

सप्तमे कोष्ठके या स्याद् वटिका दशकेन वै ।

तदान्यथा हन्तव्यं सुखाय दुर्बलं बलम्^२ ॥ ६३ ॥

इति 'वचनात् दाकेन दानेन या वाटेन सप्तमे कोष्ठे भवति सा प्रवेशं नाहतीत्यर्थः । प्रवेशेऽन्यननं नाहतीते भावः ।

द्विवटिकस्य कोन्ते रुषस्य कदाचन ।

षट्पदं न भवत्येव इति गौतमभाषेतः ॥ ६४ ॥

प्रतिप्रसवमाह षष्ठ्यश्टमः—

न कैका वटिका यस्य विद्यते खेलने यदि ।

1. ms. यनोर्तां. 2. ms. विजानीयाहता-क-. 3. ms. गोत्रम्.

4. ms. तामूर्कं. 5. ms. वर्ण. 6. ms. वर्णोन्मे. 7. ms. हन्य हननं.

गायत्रीति विस्याता पदं तस्य न तुष्यति ।

[राजाधात्यं पदं राजपदं कोणपदश्च तत्] ॥ ६५ ॥

‘पदं राजपदं चतुर्दश्च’ एतेन राजकाष्ठरा कोणस्था च वटिका प्रवेशम् तात्यर्थः ।

यदि तस्य ‘भवेत् जंश्च राजा च षट्पदः ।

३ चतुराजी भवत्येव न तु षष्ठपदं नृप ॥६६॥

इति । तस्य ‘षट्पदत्वर्त्तः । चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम् ।

[प्रार्थिते पञ्चमे राज्ञि मृतवद्याश्च षट्पदे ।

अशौचं स्यात्तदा राजंश्चलित्वा चात्मतं पदम्] ॥ ६७ ॥

हस्ते रङ्गे बलं नास्ति काककाष्ठं तदा भवेत् ।

वदन्ति राज्ञः सर्वे तस्य न स्तो जयाजयौ ॥ ६८ ॥

इति व्यासः । काककाष्ठे सति तस्य स्नानं विधीयते ।

अथ स्त्यः—

काककाष्ठे पुण्याते स्नानं कुण्डपाप्तिपि ॥ ६६ ॥

वंशाभावाद् ‘गर्हणीयः । अतः स्नानं विधीयते । त्रिः स्नानं विधेयम् । तत्तु पापहरू । भारतेऽस्य वचनं व्यासेनोदितः ।

पार्थ ४५३. सिंशसनकाले काककाष्ठं यदा भवेत् ।

सिंशसनं भवत्येव काककाष्ठं न भण्यते ॥ ७० ॥

त्यगस्त्यवचनात् । [६२]प्रवेशकाले चेत् काककाष्ठं भवति तदा

1. S adds this and reads धात्यापदं.
2. S. भवेत् पार्थ, ms. राजन् चतुर०.
3. S तदापि च चतुराजी भवत्येव न संशयः.
4. ms. षट्पदत्वर्त्तः.
5. This couplet occurs in S.
6. ms. गर्हणीयाऽतः.
7. ms. स तु.
8. ms. सिंशसने.

पुरुषः कर्तव्यं न तु काकमाषं कर्तव्यः । चरणस्थावप्यवः ।

पावेष्टन्तु^१ यत् स्थानं तस्योपरि चतुष्टये ।

नौकाचरुष्यं^२ यस्य क्रियते यस्य नौक्या ।

नौकाचरुष्यं तस्य वृक्षोकेति भण्यते ॥ ७१ ॥

इति वासवचनात् यस्य नौक्या वृक्षोका क्रियते तस्य
३ नौकाचतुष्टयमेव । वस्तुतस्तु एवं न हि ।

नौकाचरुष्यं तत्र नेतुं^४ येन हि लक्ष्यत ।

ठादिति विजानीयात्तस्य नौका इति श्रुतिः ॥ ७० ॥

इति श्रुतेर्वचनाष्टा । येन नेतुं लक्ष्यत तस्य नौका । एतत्
पुनरानेत्यं कर्तुरिष्या^५ ।

नौकाचरुष्यं यदा हस्ते अन्यनीतश्च शकुणा ।

नौकाचरुष्टमिदं प्रोक्तं हृष्टाद्वान्ततो नयेत् ॥ ७१ ॥

यमस्तु—

नौकाचरुष्यं यदा हस्ते रङ्गे तिष्ठति चेन्निजम्^६ ।

परणाप्रताञ्चैकां नक्षीञ्चानयेद्वदेत् (?) ॥ ७२ ॥

अत्रापि मीनमारो हृश्यते । चतुरङ्गपद्मतावप्येवः ।*

पितामः—

बलेनैकेन हि राजन् धातद्वन्दं प्रवर्तते ।

४ आत्मनश्च बलस्यैवाधलघातः प्रग्रीचेतः ॥ ७३ ॥

1. ms. कर्तव्यं. 2. हि. ०ष्ट. 3. ms. -त[×]यं. 3a. ms. चतुष्यं
नौकेव. 4. ms. नेतुं. 5. ms. -तिष्या. 6. ms. चेन्निजा. 7. ms.
माहाराज. 8. ms. आत्मनङ्ग बलङ्गेव.

यमस्तु—

एकेन द्वौ बलौ विष्वावधलघातः प्रमित्तः ।

चिन्तायित्वा च राजेन्द्रा खेत्यतत्र वै बलम् ॥ ७४ ॥

[.....] इत्यगस्त्यवचनं सुधीभिर्भाव्यम्^१ इति वचनेन
विष्वास्य एकवलने एककाले आत्मनो बलयोर्धातःये सति
अघलघातः कथ्यते । अत यत् खेलनं तत् सुधीभिर्भाव्यम् ।
मैथिला अप्येवम् ।

मालिकायाः—

प्रवेशं कर्तुमित्तं^२ राजानं छेदयुधः ।

प्रवेशे च कृते राजा^३ वध्यो यज्ञेन सर्वतः ॥ ७५ ॥

इति व्यासवचनात् सर्वतः सर्वबलौमेलप् [६८]स्य 'बलान्विष्य
हन्तव्यानि । व्यवहारात् 'प्रविष्टस्य राज्ञः मित्रबलं विपक्षेण
चालये द्वालये ।

व्यासः—

संघवेषं च कौन्तेय मैत्रेयं यदर्वलम् ।

घातयेन्नैव तद्वर्मीं चात्येत् स्वानेवाऽर्यधीः ।

घातये यश्च दुर्बुद्धिरपेयः उदकं ततः ॥ ७६ ॥

इति विष्वात् चतुराजे संप्रविष्टे सति ^४अरेमेंसेयबलं नैव
घातयेत् । विष्वास्य बलं स्वमिव चात्येत् ।* तद्वलश्वेदा-
घाताय तदा तत् ल्याज्यम् । एवं चतूराजी-कालेषु ज्ञेयम् ।
सिंहसन^{१०}-चतुराजीभज्ज्ञातोचम्^{११} ।

1. ms. -भाव्यं. 2. ms. तद्वधीभि-. 3. ms. -मित्तं. 4. ms.
राजि. 5. ms. बलादपि हन्तव्यः. 6. प्रविष्टस्य. 7. ms. -राजा. 8. ms.
अरेस्यैत्यबलं. 9. ms. स त्याज्यः. 10. ms. -सं. 11. ms. शौच.

महामः—

‘प्रोत्थिते पञ्चमे राज्ञि मृते वृत्यान् पट्टपदे ।

अशौचं स्यात् । राजभू चात्मा चाचातं बलम् ।

द्विरात्ते^४ गतौ तस्मा न्यात् परबलं जयी ॥ ७७ ॥

‘प्रोत्थिते’ राज्ञि प्रविष्टे राजीत्यर्थः ।

प्रवेशश्च पञ्चमं भण्यते बुधैः ।

चूराजी स्वपदस्या^५ चूराजी तु कथ्यते ॥ ७८ ॥

इति याशवल्पयवचना- शेयम् ।

प्रवेशे च मृते राज्ञि शृणु रस्तेन्द्र यत् फलम् ।

तावद् भवति चाशौचं यावन्नैव बलं चलेत् ॥ ७९ ॥

प्रवेशकाल यदि प्रवेशभङ्गो भवति तदाशौचं स्यात्, चलिते बले सति अचान्तो भवति ।

यामले—

प्रवेशमिच्छुना^६ राज्ञा^७ प्रवेशः कार्य एव च ।

श्यलायेन्नैव राजेन्द्र इति गर्गस्य भाषितम् ॥ ८० ॥

महाभारते च ^८गद्यम्—उद्देश्यिच्छुना^९ राज्ञा^{१०} प्रवेशः कार्य एव, न तु पलायेतेति^{११} । पलायिते प्रवेशभङ्गजः^{१२} दोषः । मैथिलास्तु पलायन्त ।* तत्तेषां रवलनम् । चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम् ।*

प्रसासनं चूराजी ^{१३}यदाऽवस्थानतो भवेत् ।

^{१४}नवसैन्येर्गजैर्वाऽपि राजितव्यो महीपतिः ॥ ८१ ॥

1. S. प्रार्थिते. 2. S. वृत्यान्. 3. ms. हस्ति for राजभू (S).

4. S. -कृत्या. 5. ms. पञ्चमे. 6. ms. -स्यं च, पाधोस्तु. 7. ms. -मिछ.

8. ms. राजा. 9. ms. राजात्ते. 10. ms. गद्य. 11. ms. पलायेत्

only. 12. ms. -मृतं दोषं, 13. ms. यद्य- 14. ms. -सैन्यगजै-

वाऽवधारणे । इति व्यासवचना । सिंहासनकाले एव चतुराजा-
काले च 'सर्वसैन्यैर्गजैरपि नृपो रक्षणीयः । चतुरज्ञपद्धतौ तु
'रक्षित[८]व्यौ महोपती' । 'तनूमिश्रस्य स्वलुनांति गुरु-
चरणाः । वस्तुतस्तु तप्तयेन [येन] चतुराजी क्रियते तस्य
परक्षणं करतव्यः । अन्यथा स्वयच्चेत् [स्व]स्थाने सति घाते
राजानं चालयेत् स पापग्रस्तं भवति ।

पितामहम् ॥—

३सिंहासने चतुराजौ काककाष्ठे पात्तम् ।

घाते बलं न हन्तव्यं राज्ञः खलु मयोरेतः ॥ ८२ ॥

अर्थात्तेन राजा न हन्तव्यमेत्यर्थः । यद् वा 'सर्वसैन्यैर्गजै-
र्वाऽपि रक्षेत्वयो महोपातेः' [तत्] तेषां मते गजेर्गजलरक्षणै-
रक्षणैरु राजा रक्षणीयः । [न] तप्तयतः, येन राजा चतुराजी
क्रियते तस्य भङ्गे महोषत्वात् ।

भारते—

घाते च शृणु राजेन्द्रे रक्षाद्वालयेन्न च ।

विदध्याद् यश्च पापासः । तस्य का [नु] विनिदेशे ।

सत्यं सत्यं पुनः इत्यादेदं व्याससमीरणम् ॥ ८३ ॥

सिंहासनभङ्गे एवं चतुराजीभङ्गे 'महोषत्वात् । चतुरज्ञ-
पद्धतावप्येवः ।

तथा च व्यासः—

बलेनैकेन कौन्तेय राजश्च वरेणस्तथा ।

छिन्ने तु बिन्धने धीमाऽङ्गेदयेद् व्याससमीरणम् ॥ ८४ ॥

1. ms. -सैन्यगजे-. 2. ms. तत्. 3. ms. -सिंहासनभङ्गतुराजी. 4. ms.
-सैन्यगजे-. 5. ms. व्यालस-. 6. ms. महोष-. 7. ms. धीमाण.

‘राज्ञः गौतम्य विन्दने यदा विन्दन छेतुं शक्यते तदा
वृषभिर्जन्मं छेदये । महाबलत्वात् । मैथिला एवं वर्वान्ति ।*
तदव्यक्त्या इति गुरुचरणाः । छिन्ने सतीत्यवधेयम् ।

‘स्थानाभावो यदा पार्थ हास्तानं हर्त्तरत्तन् खम् ।

गरिष्ठाते तदा राजान्निति गौतमभाषेत् ॥ ८५ ॥

अपिच—

प्रवेशे यदि राजाश्च करिणोर्बिन्धनं भवेत् ।

तदा धेदिं विदध्यात्तु गौतमेन हि भाषेत्तम् ॥ ८६ ॥

प्रवेशकाले चेत् प्रवेशकर्तृं राज्ञः गजयोर्बन्धनं स्यात्तदा धेदिः
देया प्रवेशभङ्गार्थम् इति गौतमः जल्पनम् ।* गतन्मतं व्यासा-
दीनां न, एवम् अस्ति कमापे मैथिलानाः । पे मिथ्रस्य चतुर्ङ्ग-
पत्रावापि नैव, अत एव तस्य मुनेर्महत्त्वम् । एवं [७८] चतुराजी-
कालेऽपि इति गुरुचरणाः । वर्ततस्तु प्रमाणयं वर्तते ।
‘अत खेलने [ये]षां योचते तत् कार्यम् ।

जावालोऽपि—

एकदैव हि कौन्तेय गजरः । मिमुखं गजम् ।

न कार्यन्तु चतुराजी (?) प्रवेशे कारयेत् सुधीः ॥ ८७ ॥

प्रवेशे चतुराजाभङ्गार्थम् ।

धातयत् तत् यत्वैव बलं प्राप्नोते पाण्डवः ।

संप्राप्ते तु गजः न्द्रे हन्तव्यो वामतो गजः ॥ ८८ ॥

इति जावालवचनात् यत्र बलं प्राप्नोति तत्वैव तु [ह]न्तव्यः ।

1. ms. puts this sentence before तथा च व्यासः above (83.3).

1a. ms. -भावे. 2. ms. गौतम-. 3. ms. धेति. 4. अत यत् खेलनं
तत्त्वेषां चक्रोक्ते. 5. ms. यात्य-. 6. ms. मानम्.

किन्तु गजःय प्राप्ते वामतो गज एव हन्तव्यः । एवं चतुरङ्ग-
प्रतावापे ।*

'राजैको धातितः आत्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते ।

हत्वा मिलस्य राजानं वक्षाच्चाऽन्येत् सुधीः ॥ ८६ ॥

इति जावालवचनां वोध्यम् ।

यमः—

'राजैको धातितः शत्रोमैवेयो^३ वाऽपि 'शात्रवः ।

नृपाकृष्टाय राजानं धाते सति न धातयेत् ॥ ८० ॥

इति ।* व्यासेन कथितम् 'आत्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते' इति
वचनाच् शत्रो 'राजैको धातितः आत्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते
सति नृपाकृष्टाय मिलस्य राजानः अथवा विप्रस्य राजानं
धाते सति न धातयत् । मिश्रोऽप्येवम् ।

यावालवचनायः—

नृपाकृष्टस्य भङ्गाय तूठा चैव यदैत्ता ।

कार्यं तु 'भज्जनं राजन् नृपाकृष्टस्य धीमतः ।

अह काले उठा कार्या न तु राजन् युधिष्ठिर ॥ ८१ ॥

इति वचनाद यदा एकदा नृपाकृष्टस्य 'भज्जने एव उठा भवति
तदा नृपाकृष्टस्य भज्जनं कार्यम् । चरणपद्मतौ तु नीयते
यस्मात् तत्(?) । मिश्रोऽप्येवम् ।

बिन्धने सति ज्येष्ठानां बलानां प्राप्यते बलम् ।

धातेऽपि बिन्धनं छेयं बलं नैव तु धातयेत् ॥ ८२ ॥

इति व्यासवचनात् ज्येष्ठानामिति पलक्षणम् ।* राज्ञः गजस्य वा
बिन्धनं छेयं न तु बलं धातयेत् । एतत्तु प्रवेशे चराजीपरम् ।

1. ms. राजैकं धातितं. 2. ms. यावालवचना. वोद्यव्यं. 3. ms.
-मैवेयं. 4. ms. शात्रवं. 5. ms. भङ्ग- for भङ्ग.

तावत् खेलयः जन्मुदान्तं नैव ढालयेत् ।

संप्राप्ते 'बहु[४८]ले चैव उठां कुर्यान्न ढालये ॥ ६३ ॥

इति वच(न)त् उठाम् एव कुर्यान् न तु खेलन् । एतत् प्रवेशे
करूराजांकाले इतरत्व[१३४] ज्ञेयम् ।* ^{१४}[अन्य]त् त्वान् रुद्धः ।
उठाम्यदा ग्राम्यभाषा ।* चरुपद्धतोवप्यवः ।

^२जावानः—

उठैकैन हि रूर्तव्ये द्वितीयं रानमारभेत् ।

दत्त्वा त्वेकं हि चान्यत् अन्यादेकैन तद्वलम् ॥ ६४ ॥

उठैत् कारयित्वा तु ^२चान्यदानन् खेलयेत् ।

तदा थोकं विजानीयादिति ग्रन्थविदो विदुः ॥ ६५ ॥

'जगुरिति च [पाठः] ।

थोके च पतिते राजन् बलं तस्मै प्रदापये ।

तथैवोठेति नोके च ज्ञेयं राजन् युधिष्ठिर^३ ॥ ६६ ॥

इति व्यासद्वारा एकदानस्य घाते त्रुद्धिष्ठिते एक-
मन्यत्र दत्त्वा 'केनोठां कुर्यात् । आदौ उठां कृत्वा अन्य-
दानश्च खेलयेत् ।* तदा थोकं भवति ।* तद्वलं तस्मै देयम् ।

यमस्तु, उठां कृत्वा उठा इति नोके सति थोकं भवति
च । मिश्रोऽप्येवम् ।

उठाया हि बलद्वन्द्वं दानद्वन्द्वे च चेत् पतेत् ।

न्तव्यं तत् प्रयत्नेन उठा शेषेण सिद्ध्यति ।

पूर्वेण तद्वलं तु सूतके सूतकं तथा ॥ ६७ ॥

इति वच[ना]द बोध्यम् । यदाशौचेऽशौचं भवति 'पूर्वा-

1. ms. गुलो. 1a. ms. तत् for अन्यत. 2. ms. यावालः. 2a. ms. -वाल्यान्. 3. ms. षिरः. 4. ms. केनोठां. 5. ms. बोध्यं. 6. ms. -शौचं. 7. ms. -शौचेऽशौचं.

शाचये गुरु तदा एवाद्याद्यै शुध्यति । तद्वच् चेत् पूर्वे सद्वलं
तिष्ठति तदा एव वलनोठा कार्या, किन्तु मालेकार्यं 'व्यासत्'
गथम्—संभव्ये राज्ञि प्रवास्य कोष्ठे उठालं तिष्ठति [चेत्]
तदा तद्वलं हन्तव्यं नैव ।* अन्यच्चेत् वर्तते तदा हन्तव्यः ।
'अन्यद्वलः' उठाया इत्यर्थः ।

यमः—

मैत्रिसद्वर कोष्ठे तु उठाया ^{1a}अस्ति चद्वलः ।
हनने तस्य राजेन्द्र प्रवेशं नार्हति ध्रुवम् ॥ ६८ ॥
इति वचनाद् तद्वलं नैव हन्तव्यः ।
अन्यच्चेद्वलते राजन् हन्तव्यं तद्वलं ततः ॥ ६९ ॥
इति वोक्तव्यम् ।

दशदण्डात् परं राजन् क्रीडां इत्याद्विचक्षणः ।
२ वार्त्यदाननाम्ना वा पाशां [86] धृत्वा च ढालये, ॥ १०० ॥
तेन जय रघुनाथ जय बलराम इति वा दशविर्ति (?) वा पञ्च
चौपञ्च विद्वद्वह (?) चावेदोरा (?) चावेषु (?) तिया पांचतिसाता
इत्यादि । [वक्तव्यम्] ।* एतत्तु ग्राम्यभाषा ।

क्रीडाभङ्गे तु राजेन्द्रो कुर्याद्वलसः चयम् ।

पाति त्वात्मनः सैन्यमवाऽष्टु जस्ततः ॥ १०१ ॥

इति वचनाद् आत्मनो बलानि पातयित्वा यदवशिष्टं तद्
गणयेत्तज्जयः⁴ । पांचा चौका[तिया] दुया एवं क्रमेण पाशां
छकेत् । बालबोधार्थं मया एताद्वक् स्पष्टीकृतः । अत एव हे
धीरा मे स्मितं मा कार्यम् । अस्यां क्रांडायाः 'अन्याऽव्यवस्था

1. ms. व्यासः. 1a. ms. अति-. 2. ms. देवारुयः. 3. ms. जयं
ततः. 4. ms. -जयः. 5. ms. अन्यदव्ययः.

वेजायते तदा सुधीभिः । संभाव्य व्यवस्था देया । नन्नप्राप्ते
विविनिषेधौ संदूष्याऽन्या] सुधीभिर्व्यस्था कार्या । चतुर्फ-
पद्धतावप्यतः ।

व्यासः—

खेलयेन्नित्यं क्रीडामेवं क्रमेण तु ।

न तस्य जायते शत्रोर्भयं दुःखश्च भूमिप ॥ १०२ ॥

ये नराश्च प्राप्तं सन्ता क्रीडायेऽन् युधिष्ठिर ।

खेलापत्वा च लभते वाजिमेधायुतं फलम् ॥ १०३ ॥

इन्द्रेण शत्रुं पूर्वं ततः प्राप्तं महद् यशः ।

ततः कौन्तेय तां क्रीडां खेलयेत् सुमनाः सुधीः ॥ १०४ ॥

शत्रुं व्यासमुखा दीरेतां योऽप्यन्यथा द्वजनः करोति ।

नूनं स रोगं धनधान्यान्यं प्राप्नोति कृच्छ्रं वधवन्धनश्च ॥ १०५ ॥

इति वचनाद् यो जन इमां क्रीडामन्यथा करोति, न मन्यते,
तस्य एतानि भवन्ते ।

अस्याः प्रसादाद्राजेन्द्र दधीचिः प्राप्तवाऽज्ञ जयम् ।

खेलयित्वा त्विमां लक्ष्मीं उत्पोत्रीणितां नय ॥ १०६ ॥

अस्याः क्रीडाया इत्यर्थः ।

यमस्तु—

कुवद्दिं च ये मनुजा इमां क्रीडां युधिष्ठिर ।

यहे तिष्ठति यस्यैषा तस्य श्रीः सर्वतां खी ॥ १०७ ॥

इति महोमहोपाभ्याय-उल्पाणि-विरचिता चतुर्दशीपका समाप्ता ।

चन्द्रखाभ्याश्चिनीमाने शाके कोऽपि हर्ति नमन् ।

विशेषालिखदिः पुस्तं समये कर्तारकै ॥

TRANSLATION

SŪLĀPĀN'I'S

CATURAṄGADĪPIKĀ

Om. Salutation to Gāṇeśa.

1. Bowing to Hari's feet which are like lotuses surrounded by humming bees Sūlapāṇi composes this manual (*dīpikā*) of Caturaṅga (the game of four-handed dice-chess).

By the tradition carried through Janamejaya, Sūta, Pakṣin (or 'the Bird'), Nārada and Yudhiṣṭhira, the game of Caturaṅga has come into vogue in this world. Janamejaya enquired about this of Sūta and the latter communicated to him what he heard from Vyāsa. In the days of yore the son of an ascetic (*muni*) being under a curse was born as a bird (*pakṣin*). This bird or Pakṣin described the game to Indra ; and Nārada saw the latter playing the game and described it to Yudhiṣṭhira. Afterwards Yudhiṣṭhira questioned Vyāsa about the game. Now listen to what the latter sage (Vyāsa) said.

1. The Caturaṅga through Middle Persian *Catiang* Modern Persian *Satranj*, is the ancestor of the modern game of chess. For details see the Introduction.

Dīpikā (lit. a small lamp) means a 'guide', 'manual', or 'Leitfaden'.

For details of Sūlapāṇi's life and time see the Introduction. The mythical story given here about the origin of the game occurs, as far as we know, in none of the extant Purāṇas and Epics. The game of Caturaṅga as it is to be played for stake can be called a *dyūtī* (see 43, 47 and 50 etc.). And it has been so styled in Vāṇīśāmāṇi's Caturaṅgā-taṛāṅgiṇī (see H. P. Shastri, A Catalogue of the Palmleaf & Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal, Cal. 1905. Vol. I p. 168).

Janamejaya said :

2. "O gracious sage, tell me in detail about the deed by which Yudhiṣṭhira attained prosperity."

The fact that Yudhiṣṭhira of the Mahābhārata played *dyūta* with his enemies, the Kurus seems to point to the genuineness of the story which connects this epic hero with the early history of the game. The question of the relation between the Caturaṅga and the *akṣa-dyūta* has been discussed in the Introduction. The CT. too connects Yudhiṣṭhira as well as Indra, Nīva, Viṣṇu and Vyāsa (or Veda-Vyāsa) with the Caturaṅga in the following passage :

यद्य रज्यन्ति राजानो धर्मं प्रसुखाः अ वै ।
तथा सुभग्नसामीश्च माधवो माधवाद्यः ॥
इत्येतिष्ठत्य प्रकाशे व्यासेनाविदितं पुरा ।
शहूरश्च पुरा द्यूतं स सजं सुमनोहरम् ॥

"In which (game) kings like Yudhiṣṭhira (lit. born of Dharma) took delight and likewise did Indra (lit. king of the gods), Viṣṇu (Mādhava) and Nīva (lit. the lord of Uma). All this has been reported by Vyāsa in his *Itihāsa* (i.e., the Mahābhārata)". The CT. further writes as follows :

धर्मं पुवाय धीर्थेन सौम्येन परमजिंश्च ।
वनवासि पुरा प्रोक्ता क्रीडा या चतुरङ्गकी ॥

"In the days of yore, the game which is named Caturaṅgakī, has been described by the calm sage Dhaumya to Yudhiṣṭhira during his exile". The story of Nīva's connection with the origin of the Caturaṅga has been drawn from the Skandha Purāṇa. It is said there that on the first day of the bright half (*ukla-pukṣa*) of the month of Kārtika Maheśvara (= Nīva) played the game (*dyūta*) and since then this game was current in this world (see S. Vidyalankar, Jivan-kosa, p. 1695). Names of Indra, Viṣṇu, Vyāsa in connexion with the game do not seem to occur in any of the extant Purāṇas or Epics.

2. One knowing the story of the Mahābhārata will not perhaps agree with our author who ascribes Yudhiṣṭhira's ultimate prosperity to *dyūta*. But gambling with all its faults may be said to develop in the players a power of standing the freaks of fortune with a calm spirit—a virtue which should be considered very valuable for a man bent on adventure for the sake of prosperity.

Sūta said :—

3. “O the best among men, once a bird (*pakṣiu*) came to Indra’s court in heaven and accosted the lord of gods thus :

4. ‘O magnanimous Indra, the best (lit. tiger) among the gods, play the game that I am going to describe’ ; (for) listen, O the best among men, it gives everything that one may desire.

5. O the best among men, Nārada the celestial sage listened to the words of the bird very carefully and repeated them to Yudhiṣṭhīra.

6. Glad to hear this Yudhiṣṭhīra at once invited the sages like Vyāsa and others to play the game with him. (And after he had come) the king said to Vyāsa the great sage (as follows) :

Yudhiṣṭhīra said :

7. “O the sage, describe to me the game which is played on a board with (groups of) eight squares and tell me in details how the *Catūrāji* occurs.”

4. *Sarva-kūma-phala-pradū* ‘fulfilling all sorts of desires.’ This is only a figurative way of saying that the game is very fascinating.

7. *Aṣṭa-kosīhū* does not directly mean a square board with 64 small squares. The CT. which is more explicit on this point describes the game board as follows :

तिंगूर्खकमेण वै नवरेखान् समाविशेत् ।
एवं लक्ष्मस्तिकदं क्रीडाचक्रं प्रजायते ॥

“(Two sets of) nine (straight) lines are to be drawn, (one) vertically and (the other) horizontally. And thus will come into being a game board within which will be many *svastikas* (crosses)”. See *Diagram I*.

It is due to the number of squares being multiples of eight (*asṭa*) that the game board was called an *asṭapada* as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* etc.

The *Caturaṅga-pudḍhati* too (says) :

12. “O king, the pawn moves by a throw of five and the king too moves similarly, and by (a throw of) four the elephant moves and by (a throw of) three the horse and by (a throw of) two the boat.”

पाशकौ द्वौ विधातव्यौ मायुषिङ्गसमन्वितौ
 दिकं त्रिकं चतुर्कं च पश्चकचेतिचक्रकम् ।
 दशद(श)र्यमिवतंते चतुर्णां योजने सिधः ॥
 दिविकं हिविकं चैव हिचतुर्कं हिपश्चकम् ।
 विचिकं चिचतुर्काच चिपश्चकसुदाहरतम् ॥
 चतुर्यतुर्कं चतुर्पश्चकं पश्चपश्चकम्(?) ।

“Two dice should be made and they should contain the marks of the sun. On one side of them should be a pair of them and on another three and on the third side four and on the fourth five. From a combination of these four there will arise ten sets. $2+2$, $2+3$, $2+4$, $2+5$; $3+3$, $3+4$, $3+5$; $4+4$, $4+5$; $5+5$ ”.

Al-Beruni too mentions two dice but the figures on the dice according to him are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (ed. Trübner 1910, p. 184). But of these six figures *one* and *six* are blank (i. e., do not count as such). In case the dice show *one* the player takes *one*, and instead of *six* he takes *four* (*ibid*). From this variation of the Al-Beruni’s game we may assume that it was the *Caturaṅga* of a different school.

But whatever may be the significance of the variation in marks on the dice we have no means of exactly knowing how the possible throws were utilized by the players. But it seems that more than one piece and most probably two pieces could be moved after a particular throw, though the player might have the option of moving only one piece instead of two (see 25 and Notes on it).

The value of throws required for moving the different pieces are except on one point similar to that described by Al-Beruni (p. 184). For, according to him *one* instead of *five* moves the pawn or the king. But a little earlier he says “of the numbers of the dice five and six are blank (i. e., do not count as such).” In that case if the dice show *five* or *six* the player takes *one* instead of the *five* and *four* instead of the *six* (*ibid*). Thus it seems that the *five* of the CD. was equivalent to the *one* of Al-Beruni’s game, but the CD. ignores *six* and so does CT. (see Notes on 11).

13. "The king can move to the next square (lit. passing one square) in every direction. The pawn moves (to the square) in its front but it can capture a piece placed in (squares next to) its front corners."

14. "The elephant, O king, can move at its will (to the next square) in four cardinal directions. [The horse (*turamgama*) moves sideways (to the next square) after crossing three squares]; the boat moves aslant two squares at a time, O Yudhiṣṭhīra."

13. Al-Beruni describes in detail the movement of the elephant, which, however, is not clear (see the Introduction). The movements of other pieces were similar to that of similar pieces in the Caturāṅga (or four-handed dice-chess) described in our work (Murray, pp. 57-58). See *Diagrams 3, 8, 9, 11 and 12*.

14. According to Al Beruni "they move the elephant straight on and not to the other sides one square at a time like the pawn and to the four corners also one square at a time, like the queen (*fīrzan*). They say that there five squares.....are the places occupied by the trunk and the four feet of the elephant" (p. 183). See *Diagram 4*. But according to the CD., the elephant can move to any of the four squares at its front back, right and left. In the interpretation of this passage occurring in the *Tīthītattvā* Murray has been misled by his predecessors, for *dis* in *caturdikṣu* means only the four cardinal points of the compass. The movement of the elephant as given in the CD. exactly tallies with that given by the Arabian Al-Adli (840 A. C.) in his writing of the Hindu Chess (Murray, p. 54). The Cī., however, records a different movement for the elephant and it is as follows :

रट्टमेकं...
गजस्तु सर्वतो याति यान्दिष्कं सवक्तकम् ॥

"The elephant moves, one square at a time, to any square (lit. anywhere) straight or cornerwise, (lit. aslant)." The movement of the elephant as available from Rudrata's *Kāvya* *lāṇikāra* (v. 16) tallies with this. See *Diagram 5*. (For more about the passage in question, see the Introduction). Of the different movements of the elephant this seems to be the latest. (For details see the Introduction).

of the enemy or of his ally). If one who is conver-
sant with the Dharma (Smṛti or law) will ever
do like that, one will incur a sin."

The above dictum requires that one should never place an elephant face to face with another elephant.

Yama (says) :

22. "If any one, O king, puts even by
mistake an elephant before another elephant one
incurs thereby the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa."

Thus one should not move even by mistake an elephant when no secure position is available for it. That the Mithilā school, inspite of their knowledge of the fact that no *dherdi* (?) is to be applied even when a piece is captured, move a piece between two (rival) elephants, is to be ascribed to their wrong understanding of the rules of the game (lit. 'vomitting due to their indigestion in the shape of ignorance').

On account of this, Vyāsa (says) :

23. "A seeker of religious merit, O king,
should not move, even by mistake, a piece
between the two elephants."

From the above dictum it is implied that even when the throw has made a piece between two elephants available for move, the same should not be moved.

24. When a throw has made a horse avail-
able for movement and any position is not
available for it, then move the pawn before the
king and put it in the place of the latter.

22. The difference of the Mithilā school from that of Bengal deserves notice.

23. This shows that to avail of any throw was not compulsory for the player.

24. This shows that the player could partially utilize a throw e. g., the throw being of 5+3 he might, if he liked, avail of only 3 or only 5. The peculiarity of the Mithilā school deserves notice.

According to the above words of Gautama we are to understand that, when after a throw of three and five no room is available for the horse one should then put it in the place of the pawn moved from before the king. But the pawn in the corner should not be moved for (accommodating) the horse ; for this latter pawn is another horse in its place. The Mithilā school, however, considers such a move(?) necessary. The same thing is to be understood in similar other circumstances.

Gautama says :

25. "When there two pieces (will be available for move) to a single square and there exists position for only one of them, then the superior piece should be moved. In case of the throw of five and three, the throw of five should always be considered superior to that of three."

(In the *Mālikā*) Vyāsa also says :

26. "O Yudhiṣṭhira (*Pārtha*), when the throw of five and three has occurred and there is one position for both the numbers, the piece available for move by the throw of five, should be moved, because the throw of five is superior to the throw of three (lit. should move five because of its superiority)."

From these words it is to be understood that whenever there is any throw of three and five, the throw of five should be used for moving a piece and not the throw of three ; for the former is a superior throw. We should do likewise in similar circumstances. In the *Caturāṅga-pādīhati* too the same instructions have been given.

25-26. This probably shows that two pieces of a player might stay in one square.

27. "O Yudhiṣṭhīra, when the two different pieces, be they superior or inferior, are available for capture in a square, capture one that has weight (i. e., is superior).

28. This rule is to be applied everywhere in case of elephant, horse, pawn and boat. But in case of the elephant and the king (being available at the same time), O, one may capture whichever one likes."

From this dictum it is implied that when two pieces are available for capture one which is superior of the two should be captured. Between elephant and the horse the former is the superior one, but between the king and the elephant the player may exercise option in capturing. Here there is no Sandhi in *hautaryam gauravam yatra iti pārtha mayeritam*, because that would have spoiled the metre. Sandhi is due to the option of the..... In fact the elephant is to be killed, for it has superiority over other pieces.

29. "The elephant, O best of the kings, is superior to other pieces each of which severally is superior to the piece next to it."

(The expression) 'this should be known' completes the sense. 'Ekataḥ' means taking them one by one (i. e., severally). (From this interpretation we understand that) between the boat and the pawn the former is verily (superior).

In the *Mālikā* (occurs the following) :

30. "The intelligent man should everywhere capture or obstruct (some piece). But listen to me, O Yudhiṣṭhīra, I am telling you the manner in which one should proceed in these matters.

27-28. Any attack being possible in such a square, one is to kill the superior piece.

30. The verb *bindh* does not occur in any list of roots. It must be a dialectal alternative of the root *bandh* 'to catch', 'to ensnare', 'to capture' etc., and must have the same meaning.

31-32. On finding a superior piece one should always obstruct it, if by so obstructing one can break through the obstruction offered by one's enemy for one's ownself or for one's ally. But one should not obstruct (all the) opponents (at a time). Otherwise (lit. in the absence of this) one may obstruct them. Vyāsa has said that one should not deliberately offer any obstruction."

From the above words of Vyāsa it appears that when the forces of one's own and of one's ally have been obstructed and they are to be delivered from this obstruction, then one should make efforts for the break up of the obstruction ; but in that case one should not offer obstruction to all the enemy's forces. But when there is no chance of breaking up the obstruction then one should offer counter-obstruction to all the enemy's forces ; and when one is able to capture any piece of the opponent one should not obstruct it.

An exception to the above rule has been laid down by Bhrgu thus :

33. "There is no harm in obstructing any piece that can be captured. But there is no need for being friendly to it (afterwards)".

From the above words of Bhrgu we have that, when some piece cannot be captured it may be obstructed. This is harmless. The ally's force cannot be obstructed.

34. If by the capture of a piece obstruction occurs for the ally then, O Yudhiṣṭhīra (lit. son of Pāṇḍu), it is called the *Balāghāta*.

From the above words we have that when by capturing the

32. The form *ghātitum* for *hantum* is bad grammar.

33. The form *bendhum* is from the root *bindh*. See notes on 30 above.

enemy's forces, that of one's ally have met obstruction, then it will be called the *Balāghāta*.

35. 'O the best of the kings, the superior forces should never be placed in a critical position. If they are placed like this one will incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa. If, however, one is forced to place them in a critical position, then one should see that some superior piece (of the opponent) is captured by it'.

From the above words of Vyāsa it is to be understood that the superior pieces should never be placed in a position open to danger. The king, the elephant and the horse are superior pieces. When the enemy's king together with his ally, as well as the horse in front of the pawn at the corner is moved, one should capture this horse even if there is a throw of five in favour of the player. The school of Mithilā capture the horse in that case on the strength of the dictum "If, however, they (superior pieces) are to be placed in a critical position then some superior piece of the enemy should be captured." "This, however, is a mistake on the part of the author of the *Caturāṅga-pādīkhāti*" says Gurucarāṇa; for, the quoted dictum lacks authority. They (i. e., the Mithilā school) are not to do whatever pleases them.

36. If the two pieces of the ally of the enemy have simultaneously become available for capture then these two pieces are to be captured at the expense of a pawn ; for the two pieces are superior to the pawn, which is of less value than one (major) piece (*balā*).

35. *Bendhu!* = captor's (base *bendhi*). Mithilā's peculiarity should again be noted. Gurucarāṇa mentioned here seems to be the author of the prose portion of the CD.

36. This shows that sometimes pieces of an ally also could be captured (lit. killed). But there is nothing astonishing in this for the game being one fit for princes thoroughly follows political maxims. For Kāmāṇḍaka writes :—

From the above instruction of Yama it is to be understood that the two pieces should be captured. The same explanation holds good everywhere.

37. The king, the elephant as well as the horse can capture the enemy's pieces after averting attack. Even if there is any want of position, O the best of the kings, by capturing one gets a piece. As Yama laid down this rule the piece in question should be captured.

From the above words of Yama we are to understand that in spite of one's want of position one should capture a major piece when it is available for capture. The Mithilā school styles this sort of capture as *khāra* or *skumāra*. These are words belonging to the speech of the rural people.

(The same sort of rule has) also (been laid down) in the *Caturāṅga-pañdhutī*.

38. "O king, the wise have laid down this order of moving the pieces. An intelligent person should move his piece only after the three positions have been surveyed."

“भोगपास् विकुर्वाणं मिचमधुपणीडयेत् ।
अत्यन्तं विक्रातं हन्त् स पापीयान् विपुर्मतः ॥”
“श्रिष्टे वर्त्मानानि मिदाख्यपि परिवक्तेत् ॥”

Nīśīra (Veṅkateśvara ed.) VIII. 72, 73.

[Tr. When the (expected) advantage has been obtained from an ally and he turns faithless, him one ought to punish, and an ally who is very much treacherous should be killed, for, of the two he is worse.]

[Tr. Even when allies doing harm are more than one (lit. many) they should be shunned.]

36-37. These passages are obscure. It seems that some part of it has been lost. The repetition of the first line of 37 in the ms. gives rise to such a suspicion.

38. 'The three positions' are evidently the possible attacks from three sides.

Similar (should be the procedure) in capturing a piece.

39. "O king, a piece should not be raised quickly in capturing another (piece). Looking to various possible difficulties one should suddenly move a piece.

40. If by mistake, O Yudhiṣṭhira, there is anything amiss, then there will be many difficulties and one will incur a sin."

From the above rule it is to be understood that, when in capturing a piece of the enemy, there is any chance of obstruction for an ally, then it should not be captured. And an ally should not capture any piece of his ally as long as none of his own pieces has been captured. A similar rule applies in both cases. Imputing to it faults such as capture one should put a piece in that very place. Imputing there faults.....as three points of attack have been available. Similarly when two pieces have been available, or, when his (ally's) pieces have been obstructed and the obstruction can be removed one should remove it. Similar (should be the treatment) everywhere. If due to carelessness or through anger one should make a mistake, and one cannot find out any difficulty even when difficulties exist then one should incur sin.

(The same rule is) also (available) in the 'Aṣṭāṅga-paddhati'.

41. 'If the major pieces are obstructed then there will be a great gain on the part of the enemy. Hence, O king, remove the obstruction (of your pieces) and (before doing that) you should not capture the enemy's piece'.

From these words (it is to be gathered that), as the enemy obstructing the superior force (attain great gain), one should remove obstruction first and should not attempt to kill enemy's pieces before that.

40. This passage gives rule as to the capture of an ally's piece. While himself unhurt one cannot capture an ally's piece, or must find some fault with the ally before he can capture his piece. See notes on 36 above.

42. "When the king comes to occupy another king's position then, O best of kings, it will be called the *Simhāsana*.

43. When the king attains *Simhāsana* after killing (another) king then the defeated party will have to pay the double stake or the stake is one-fold (at the option of the victor)."

The double amount means that 'thirty-six (*panas*) will be carried.' The Mithilā school understand by this 'seventy-two (*panas*).'¹ This is their mistake. The position of the allied king is to be understood in this case. By 'position' in 'another king's position' we are to understand even the position of his ally.

Yama (says) :

44. "When, O Yudhiṣṭhīra, a king ascends the throne of an allied king, then also the *Simhāsana* (takes place) and the former king commands all the forces of the latter."

According to this passage too thirty-six is the amount of the stake.

42+3. *Simhāsana* is of two kinds. One of them brings in double stake while the other single stake. The value of stake is fixed by convention which seems to vary according to schools ; for in the Bengal school double stake meant thirty-six *panas* or two rupees and four annas in modern money while in the Mithilā School the same was twice this amount. The Bengali commentator of the CD. here finds fault with the Mithilā School. We can well understand his attitude if we look to the following dicta of *Manu*.

नार्थः क्रीडयेत् | IV. 74.
द्यूतं समाहृदयं चैव राजा राष्ट्राद्विद्वारयेत् ।

प्रकाशमेतत्साक्षर्यं यद्देवनसमाहृदयी ।

...

द्यूतं समाहृदयं चैव यः कुर्यात् कारयेत् या ।

तात् सर्वान् चातयेद्वाजा गुरुःश विजित्विहितः ॥ VIII. 221, 223, 224.

The above passages probably make an exception of the ritual game of *Caturāṅga* or the game itself has been connected with ritual after lawgivers like *Manu* have taken strong measures to suppress it. (For details on those points see Introduction).

45. "When the enemy king having six positions tries to attain the Simhāsana then he should be captured even if he is protected well."

From these words of Vyāsa it is to be understood that when a king tries to enter together with his forces the court of another king, then the former should be captured.

46. When one's own king is free while the three other kings have been captured then there occurs the ('atūrājī.

From these words it is to be understood that when the three other kings have been captured while one's own king is free there occurs the Catūrājī.

47. When the Catūrājī occurs for one king by his capture of another, then the amount of stake should be doubled, otherwise it is one-fold only.

In this case the double amount means thirty-six *panas*.

48. "When, O monarch, the king captures in the Catūrājī another king from his (=the latter's) own position, then the amount of stake will be fourfold".

Now this is the central idea here : that though there can be a victory in both ways, there is some display of superior force and security of position in attaining the other king's throne as well as in capturing him. The analogy is to be followed in the game also. Here the fourfold stake means seventy-two *panas*. The Mithilā school too say this.

Gautama (says) :

49. "If in the course of the Simhāsana the Catūrājī occurs then it will be the Catūrājī and not the Simhāsana".

46-48. Catūrājī has three varieties : superior, middle and inferior. The superior variety brings in fourfold stake : middle, double, inferior and single. Hence the superior Catūrājī is the highest form of victory.

The same is to be understood everywhere.

50. "If at the time of entrance, the Catūrājī is likely to occur, then accomplish the Catūrājī and you will win the twofold stake".

From these words (it is to be understood) that if the Catūrājī occurs at the time of entering then it will be considered the Catūrājī and not the entrance. The same rule is given in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*.

51. "When the two (other) kings are in your hand by the side of your king and one of them has been captured by the enemy, then the other should be carried by your force".

From the above passage it is to be understood that if the two kings are by the side of your king and one of them has been carried off (captured) by the enemy, then the remaining one should be captured by your force. In fact no open assault (Vakadā-vakadī) can be effected in this way.

For example, Vyāsa (says) :

52. "When a member of the force has stepped out, an expert in the game (of Caturaṅga) should act as follows: the three kings being in the hand and the other (i. e., the fourth) having been captured by the enemy and the open assault (Vakadā-vakadī) having been declared (by the opponent) the king (of the enemy) should at once be captured."

From the above passage it is to be understood that there being in one's hand the three kings and the remaining king, 'one's own or ally's, having been captured by the enemy and there being the declaration of Vakadā-vakadī the (enemy) king should at once be captured. This is called the *Nṛpākṛṣṇa*.

53. [When the two kings are in the hand and the other one is not in another's hand then the king should capture a king by his personal attack].

Vyāsa (says) :

54. "When the king is going to attain the Nṛpākṛṣṭa, O Yudhiṣṭhīra, then he should be captured at once by an attack, if there is none to protect him."

From the above words it is clear that when an (enemy) is about to attain the Nṛpākṛṣṭa then he should be captured by an immediate attack, for by so doing Nṛpākṛṣṭa can be smashed.

Manu (says) :

55-56. "O best of the kings, when, to one member of the force, be it the elephant or the horse, an obstruction has occurred and that has given rise to Vakadā, then admit that Vakadā and do not remove that obstruction ; and as long as the king is in obstruction do not attempt the Nṛpākṛṣṭa".

From these words (we are to understand that) if the Vakadā arises after the obstruction of the elephant or the horse (and at this time three things are practicable) : the capture of two pieces by one, the removal of the obstruction and the effecting the Vakadā then one should effect the Vakadā and not the removal of the obstruction ; but when the king has been obstructed that obstruction should be removed ; otherwise the king being captured the Nṛpākṛṣṭa is lost and only sin is incurred.

So (says) Vyāsa :

57. "If the Vakadā arises at the time of the Uthā—"

53. The form 'uṭhīte' is probably made up of *uṭhā* and *īta* and as *uṭhā* is equivalent to *utthāna* the word means *utthita* 'arisen'. The sense of the two passages is not quite clear.

55. *Vakadā* is possibly a short form of *vakadā-vakadī* (See 15,51,52,58).

The prohibition in the *Malikā* is (as follows) :

58. "If one's own king is indeed (*khala*) captured by an ally when the two other kings (the enemy and his ally) are in hand, it is a useless affair ; even if the *Vakadā* is declared, it cannot be effected".

When the two kings are indeed (*khala*) in hand and an ally has captured one's own king for repelling an entrance (of the enemy) and has afterwards given it back, then he cannot capture that king (again). For, that would be a useless affair (*mīnamāra*). It is to be understood like this. The word *mīnamāra* is dialectal and ends in *a*.

And in the *Caturāngapadilhāti*, too,

59. "A pawn when it reaches at the end (of its domain) any square except that of king and the one at the corner, then it carries the weight of a piece originally occupying that square, and the *Satpada* (occurs)".

This has the name of the *Satpada*. *Koṣṭhabala* means a piece (*bala*) in a square (*koṣṭha*).

Yama prohibits this, thus :

60. "A pawn when it is not in its proper *pātra* (position ?) should not be captured. If, however, it will be in its *pātra* then, O king, an intelligent person should carefully capture it.

61. But if there be any (chance of) attack from the enemy then the pawn should not be allowed to enter. [According to Gautama it.....
.....] should be known as having lost its life".

58. The word *mīna-māra* means (literally) 'the killing of fish'. Now for a Brahmin killing fish is a useless affair ; for in ancient times he could not eat it without endangering his social position. Compare with this the word *jhakhmīrī* (=Skt. *jhaṣa-mārī*) also meaning an useless venture.

From these words we are to understand that a pawn not within its *pātra* does not deserve to enter one's court. But when it is with its *pātra* then it should be made to lose its life by one stroke.

As an exception (to this) Gautama says :

62. "O king, there would occur no Satpada for the pawn, if by the king or the elephant the same (Satpada) has been obstructed.

Yama (says) :

63. "If there is a pawn in the seventh square due to ten, then (the pawn which is already in that square and the one which is going to capture it) will strike each other (and of the two stronger one) killing easily the weaker one."

From the above words it is to be understood that the pawn which on account of a throw of ten is liable to occupy the seventh square cannot enter (the enemy's place). In case of entrance there is a mutual clash.

64. "O Yudhiṣṭhīra, according to Gautama, one playing only with three pawns can never attain the Satpada".

An exception to this has been made by Rṣyaśringa.

65. If in playing the Caturaṅga one has been reduced to the position of having only a boat and a pawn, then that pawn is called the Gādhāvati. [The position of the king and the corner square can be assailed by this Gādhā].

By 'positions such as the king's and the corner position' it is to be understood that the pawn before the king's square and at the corner square, is fit to enter.

66. "When, O king, he attains both the Śatpada and the Catūraji, the Catūraji will have to stand and not the Śatpada".

The same thing occurs in the *Caturaṅgapaddhati*.

Vyāsa (says) :

67. "When a player has no piece in hand or in the field then there will occur the Kākakāṣṭha. The Rākṣasas say that there is no victory or defeat to be decided for him (who has attained the Kākakāṣṭha)."

On attaining the Kākakāṣṭha one should make himself purified by bathing.

Agastya (says) :

67a. "O king, if the Kākakāṣṭha will occur then one will have to bathe."

For the loss of the family or clan one should be censured and hence this bathing has been prescribed. Three baths are necessary, for they only are fit to take away the sin. This has also been said by Vyāsa in the *Bhārata*.

68. "O Yudhiṣṭhīra, when the Kākakāṣṭha arises at the time of the Simhāsana then the latter should be reckoned and not the former."

From the above words of Agastya it is to be understood that if at the time of the Entrance there should arise the Kākakāṣṭha then the Simhāsana(?) should be reckoned and not the Kākakāṣṭha. The same (rule occurs) in the *Caturaṅgapaddhati* also.

69. "When one's own boat has brought together the four boats including itself in the four positions above one's sitting place then it will be called the Brhannaukā."

67. We do not know how Rākṣasas appear here. The traditional story that Rāvaṇa's wife was the inventor of the chess has probably something to do with this introduction of Rākṣasas.

From the above words of Vyāsa we are to understand that a player, by whose boat the Brhannaukā is effected, will possess the four boats, but this is not so.

70. "The four boats will be his by whom they will be carried per force near his own position. This has been the tradition."

From these traditional (*śruti*h) words we are to understand that one who can carry (the boats) per force will possess the boat. But this is not a hard and fast rule but depends on the option of the player.

71. "When the three boats are in hand and the enemy has taken the remaining one, then the Naukākrṣṭa is said to occur. In this case one should take this boat per force".

And Yama too (says) :

72. "When the two boats of one's own are in hand and in the field then the (boat) harmed by the enemy as well as the Nakādi should be brought over by him(?)".

Here too a fruitless venture (*mīra[na]māra*) is noticed. The same is the rule in the *'ataraṅga-paddhati*.

Pitāmaha (Brahmā) says :

73. "O the great king, two strokes can proceed from one piece.one's own piece is called the Aghalaghāta(?)".

Yama, too, says :

74. "When two pieces are obstructed by one piece then it is called the Aghalaghāta. In such a case one should play after proper deliberation".

'These words of Agastya are to be considered by the wise'. From this dictum we learn that when one's opponent captures one's two pieces by means of one piece, then the situation is called the

Aghalaghāta. The wise are to think out what they should play in this case. The Mithilā school too do likewise.

In the *Malikā* (occurs the following) :

75. When an (enemy) king is bent on making an entrance (to one's court then) the wise should obstruct him and in case of his entrance he should be captured carefully in all cases (*sarvatah*).

In the above rule of Vyāsa by *sarvatah* (in all cases) we are to understand that even by the forces of the ally he should be captured.

According to the (current) usage, the pieces of the ally of the king, when entered (one's court), should be moved by his enemy and the die will also be cast by him.

Vyāsa (says) :

76. O the virtuous Yudhiṣṭhīra, the forces of the ally of the enemy who has entered (one's court) should not be captured but he should be made to divert. If any fool will capture them then his association should be avoided.

From these words we are to understand that when the enemy king has entered (one's court) his allied force should not be captured. One should move the enemy's forces as one's own ; but if the latter's forces are for capturing (one's own forces) then that should be avoided. This is to be understood (as a rule) at the time of the Catūrāji. There should be *āśauca* (state of impurity) when the Simhāsana and the Catūrāji have been disturbed.

Mahāmanu (says) :

77. When the king has moved to the fifth place and the pawn has been captured in the Satpada, then, O king, there will be a state of impurity (*āśauca*) if the piece concerned was moved under compulsion. Hence after the two-fold movement the victorious party should capture the enemy's forces.

Protthite rājñi means 'when the king has entered (one's court).'

78. Entering the fifth place too is called the Simhāsana by the wise. The four kings at one's own place is called the Catūrājī.

These should be understood from the words of Yājñavalkya.

79. Listen to me, O the great king, the results which will come out from the entrance or the capture of the king. One will be in a state of impurity (*asauca*) as long as one will not move one's pieces.

If at the time of attempting entrance it is disturbed then he will be in a state of impurity (*uśauca*). But when one of the pieces has been moved then there will be an end of the impurity (*aśauca*).

In the *Yāmala* occurs the following :

80. The king who is willing to enter, should enter (the enemy's court) ; he should not run away when obstructed. These are the words of Garga.

In the *Mahābhārata* occurs this prose (passage) : The king willing to enter should enter (the enemy's court) and he should not run away. Should he run away there would be a sin due to the disturbance of the entrance. The Mithilā school would run away in such a case ; but this is their error. The same rule occurs in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*, as well.

81. When the Simhāsana and the Catūrājī occur in one's own place then the king should be protected even at the cost of the elephant.

The particle *rā* in the above (original) rule denotes prescription.

From the above words of Vyāsa it follows that at the time of the Simhāsana and the Catūrājī the king should be protected at the risk of all the forces including the elephant, even.

In the *Caturaṅga-paddhati* it has been laid down that the two kings should be protected ; but 'this is a mistake of Miśra,

says Gurucaraṇa. In fact, according to that policy, the person who is going to attain the Catūrāji should see to the protection of his king. For, otherwise, should he move the king from his own place after an attack, he would incur a sin.

The grandfather Manu says :

82. O the best of the kings, at the time of the Simhāsana, the Catūrāji and the Kākakāṣṭha the forces, even when they attack (him), should not be killed by the king.

The word *rājñah na hantaryam* in the original means by the king are not to be captured. Or that they say that 'the king should be protected at the sacrifice of all the forces even of the elephant' means that in their opinion the enemy king should be saved even at the expense of the three elephants. (It is) not so. By capturing him the expected Caturāji of one's king is disturbed and a great fault occurs.

In the *Bhāvata* occurs the following :

83. In case of an attack, O best of the kings, one should not move the king. The wretch who will do this will lay down.....for him. This is true, true and again true. This is the word of Vyāla (Vyāsa ?)

This is due to a great fault for the disturbance of the Simhāsana and the Catūrāji. The same rule occurs in the *Caturāṅgapaddhati*.

The same has been the dictum of Vyāsa :

84. If, O Yudhiṣṭhīra, the obstruction of the king and the elephant can be broken through by a piece then the wise person should remove the obstruction of the elephant.

When the king and the elephant have been obstructed and only one piece at a time can be made free from this obstruction then the elephant should first of all be made free. This prescription

in favour of the elephant is due to its being a major piece. The Mithilā School do not act like this. This, Gurucarana says, is a defective procedure, when the obstruction has been removed (?).

85. Whenever there is any want of position, O Yudhiṣṭhīra, one should then put one elephant against another.

Moreover,

86. If at the time of the entrance there should occur an obstruction then one should apply the Dhedi (?). This has been laid down by Gautama.

If at the time of entrance the king of a person and his two elephants are obstructed then he should apply the Dhedi for the disturbance of the entrance. These are the words of Gautama. This view is not approved by Vyāsa and others and not by us nor by the Mithilā School and in the *Caturāṅga-paḍḍhati* of Miśra. Hence it should be considered a speciality of that muni (Gautama). The same is the rule at the time of the Catūrāji according to Gurucarana. In fact, there are two views. As regards the game the players follow whatever pleases them.

Jābāla too (says) :

87. Never, O Yudhiṣṭhīra, should the elephant be placed against another elephant but at the time of the entrance and the Catūrāji this rule may not be observed.

The exception provided for in the case of the entrance is meant for the disturbance of the Catūrāji by the rival player.

88. One should capture a piece of the enemy whenever one gets an opportunity. But when two pieces are available for capture one should capture one at the left.

The same rule has been laid down in the *Caturāṅga-paḍḍhati*.

89. On capturing a king of the rival near one's own king wise men should bring about the Vakadā by capturing his allied king.

This is to be understood from the words of Yā(Jā)bāla.

Yāma (says) :

90. After capturing a king, be he an enemy or an ally, one should not capture, if the Nṛpākṛṣṭa is expected, an (enemy) king even when he is open to capture.

This is the instruction of Vyāsa when one's own king is near it.

From the above words we are to understand if one of the enemy kings has been captured and one's own king is near at hand, then for the sake of the Nṛpākṛṣṭa that may occur, one should not capture, even when the capture is possible, the king of the enemy or the ally. Miśra too supports this view.

Yājñavalkya says :

91. When the uthā (?) has occurred for the break up of the Nṛpākṛṣṭa then the wise men should break it up. O Yudhiṣṭhīra, this time one should not effect the uthā.

From these words, it is meant that when once for the break up of the Nṛpākṛṣṭa, has occurred the uthā, at that time the break up of the Nṛpākṛṣṭa should be effected. In the *Caturāngapadikkhati*, too, 'that from which it is carried(?)'. Miśra too says like this.

92. If at the time of the obstruction of major pieces some piece of the enemy is available, then one must remove the obstruction even at the cost of a piece but should not try to capture the enemy's piece.

In the above dictum of Vyāsa the words 'of major pieces' has a (special) implication. (They imply that) the obstruction of the king or the elephant is to be removed and no piece of the enemy should be captured. This should be done at the time of the entrance and after the Caturāji.

93. O king, one should not play till then and one should not cast till after the uthā has occurred but when many have been obtained, one should make the uthā but should not (any more) cast a throw.

From the above words, it is to be understood that one should effect the uthā and not go on playing. This should be the players' conduct at the time of the entrance and the Caturāji. It is to be known that there is no such rule in other occasions.

Jābāla (says) :

94. When the uthā becomes due, then one should begin the second throw. After moving one piece to another place one should capture that piece by one. After making the uthā one should play for another throw.

95. Then one should know this to be the Thoka. The persons knowing the Sāstra know the game to be like this.

(In place of the reading 'knew'—*riduh*) there is a variant like 'say' (*jaguh*).

96. When the Thoka throw has fallen (for the enemy) then, O king, one should offer one's pieces to him. Similar should be the procedure, O Yudhiṣṭhira, even when uthā has not been uttered.

From these words of Vyāsa we are to understand that when one throw has been spoilt and two throws have been available next, one throw should be utilised by moving one piece to some place and then should do the uthā. First he should make the uthā and should play the other throw. Then it will be the Thoka and the piece should be given him.

Yama, however, says : If the uthā has not been uttered when the same has taken place it will be the Thoka. Miśra too agrees with him.

97. If two pieces of the uthā are to fall in two throws, then they should be captured by every effort and the uthā will be accomplished by the rest.

From these we are to understand as follows : As there being an *asauca* upon a previous *asauca* and the latter not being heavy one stands purified from it, in a similar manner if any major piece exists already then the uthā is to be accomplished by the same piece.

But Vyāsa says in the *Mālikā* that when the king has entered the Gadya (?) and an uthā piece exists in the square of the entrance then that piece should not be captured. But should there be any other piece there then that should be killed. By 'another piece' we mean the piece of the uthā.

Yama (says) :

98. If in the square of the Simhāsana there is a piece of the uthā then on capturing it one should not make the entrance.

From this it is to be understood that the same piece should not be captured.

99. Should there be any other piece, that should be captured.

This is implied :

100. An expert should play more than ten *dandas* (=four hours). O king, he should make a throw of dice which is called a *dāna*.

Then uttering, victory to Raghunātha, victory to Balarāma, one should say ten-two, five, four-five . . . three, five-three, etc., words denoting these numbers in the text are dialectal.

131. After the break up of the game, O king, one should count up these pieces.

Leaving aside his own pieces he should reckon his victory.

From these words it is to be understood that one should make a reckoning of the victory after leaving one's own pieces out of calculation.

One should mark the dice with five, four, [three] two etc. For the understanding of the dullards I make it clear. Hence, one should not laugh at me, for this seemingly superfluous description. If in this game there will arise any confusion over rules of the game then wise people should look thoroughly over the matter and give a decision. A decision should be given by the wise after criticising the rules made by *munis*. The same instruction has been giving by Vyāsa too in the ('*aturuṅga-paddhati*).

102. He who plays this game daily in this manner, O king, to him, fear from enemy does not occur.

103. Those persons who praise this game attain the merit of *ayuta* horse-sacrifices.

104. Formerly it was played by Indra who attained great fame. Thereafter, O son of Kunti, the wise people play it.

105. That foolish person who plays this game not according to rules coming from the mouth of Vyāsa shall have disease, want money and grain, and meet with difficulty, death and imprisonment.

From these words, it is clear that any one, who plays the game otherwise and does not realize the folly, will suffer like this.

106. O the great king, through the merit obtained from this, Dadhici obtained victory. Hence, you play the same and make fortune awaiting your sons and grandsons.

'From this' means 'from this game.'

107. Those persons, who play this game, O Yudhiṣṭhīra, will have in their house an allround prosperity.

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N. B.—Numerals relate to numbers of sections of the Skt. text. Words marked with asterisks do not occur in any Skt. Dictionary or if they occur at all, their technical sense is not available there. Lexicographers are also to give more attention to the rest of the words which have developed a special sense in connexion with C.

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गारलीच कालरीढ अन्याया, काली
एवं दुष्कर अन्याया, तितिक्षी उत्तमायां ती यही थी ।
११ तितिक्षी यही यत्कर कालरीढ अन्यायी यही थी ।

